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THE NEW REPUBLIC

March 5, 1966, 35 cents

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The Rusk Doctrine

The Editors

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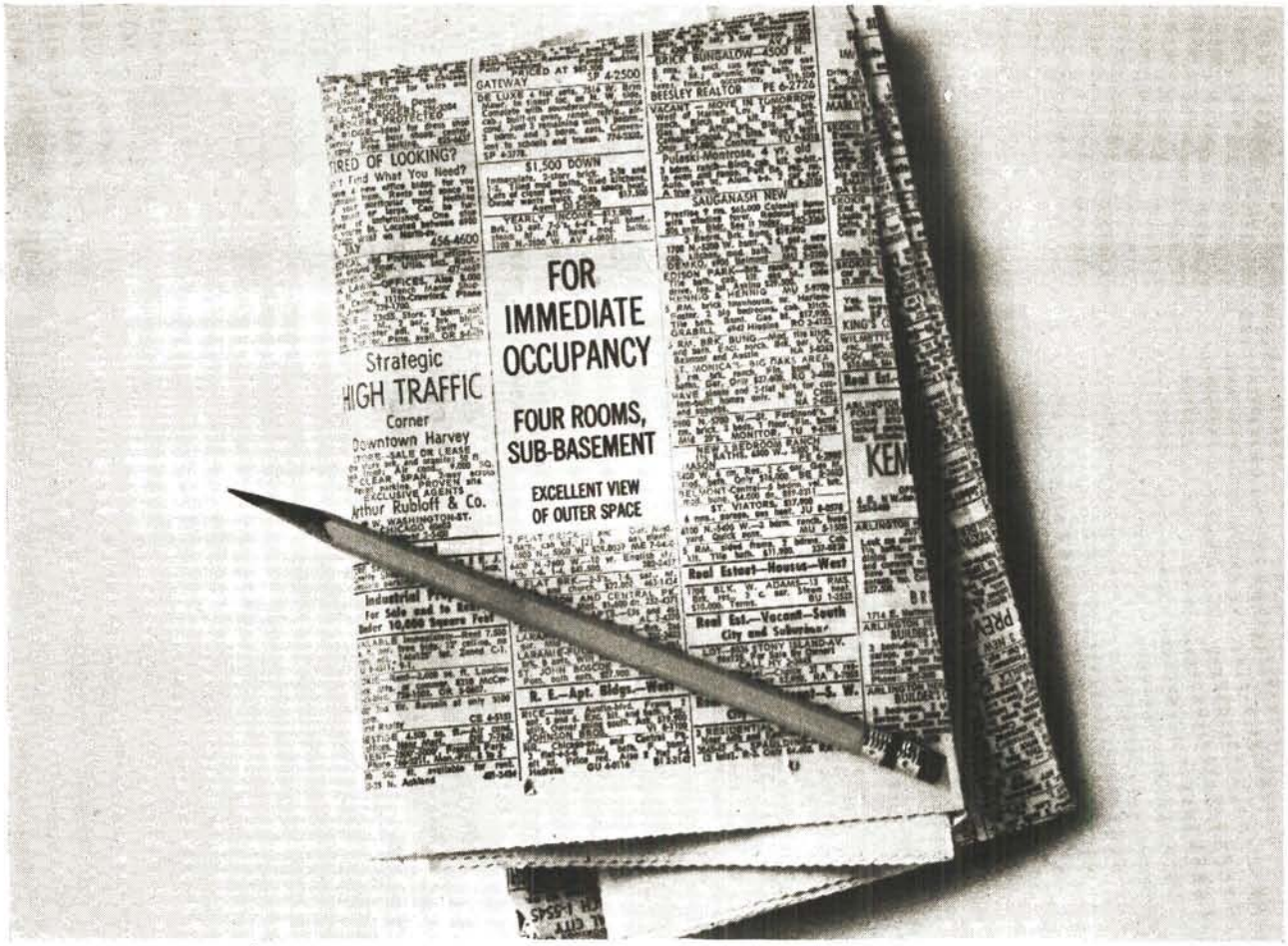
GREAT MOMENTS AT CHICAGO



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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Vital Support in Vietnam

★ The Fulbright hearings made a new statement from Mr. Johnson necessary. It was intended to be reassuring. No war with Red China, he said. "No mindless escalation." "The tide of battle has turned." Fine, if true! We recall Secretary McNamara and General Taylor returning from Vietnam in October 1963, announcing confidently – "the major part of the [American] military task can be completed by the end of 1965."

The President asked, rhetorically, if "our men go alone to Vietnam." Not at all! "We have seven allies in SEATO and five of them are giving vital support, each with his own strength and in his own way, to the cause of freedom in Southeast Asia."

Vital support? Here's the aid officially listed by the State Department as of January 15: Australia – an infantry division and 200 specialists; New Zealand – artillery battery, 25-man engineer detachment and surgical team; Philippines (a possible "domino") – 70 persons; Thailand (another "domino") – 17-man air transport unit; Pakistan – cash and clothing for flood relief; France – nearly 500 educators, economists and technicians, with $11 million economic aid since 1956; UK – advisory commission (six-man), professor of English and technical-scientific equipment. We are not alone.

The military figures are, of course: South Vietnamese – 600,000; US (the Pentagon's figures of February 6) – 201,000 (and reserve call-up likely); all the rest – 22,000.

The President might have said that "30 nations" are aiding us; that's what the State Department gravely lists. Laos, for example – $4,167 in flood relief. Israel – "pharmaceuticals." Ireland – cash through Red Cross. Malaysia (a "domino") – armored vehicles. With allies like this we should not quail.

Let's add, in fairness, that Nationalist China wants to send troops but we won't let her (provocative to Red China). And that South Korea has sent a full combat division. It is true, of course, that South Korea is a client state, and that we have two divisions of our own, simultaneously, in South Korea. "And we're paying for all three," Senator Gore commented at the Fulbright hearings.

We do not recall ever having seen such a change of sentiment in six months as we sense here in Washington about this war. Of course we could be mistaken. We don't think so. The uneasiness and doubts are widely expressed. The question asked is not whether we are right, but whether we are wise. The Republicans have evidently calculated that the chances of outflanking Mr. Johnson are better by taking a neutral or questioning attitude. Sen. Robert Kennedy, who doesn't act carelessly, seems to feel so too. LBJ runs some risk of being isolated.

There's no doubt where Hubert Humphrey stands in all this. He is part of the Administration counterattack – in fact, for the moment, its very spearhead – to end so-called defeatism in the anxious public. We have deep affection for him. We are confident he is sincere. We think it takes courage to do what he's doing. For he is cutting himself loose from the liberal wing that has always supported him. The conservatives never will.

The Candid Mr. Keyserling

★ Leon Keyserling, one-time chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, is the kind of economist who can't be trusted. If the King comes by with no clothes on, Leon Keyserling will yell, "Look, no clothes!" At the otherwise sedate and respectable 20th anniversary party for the Full Employment Act here last week (congratulatory messages from three Presidents, and a couple of hundred economic PhD's in close proximity) Mr. Keyserling vehemently exclaimed, "Look, the economic act isn't working too well! Sure, our GNP is extraordinary. But how about Watts? How about decaying cities? How about that one-sixth of the nation who still live in poverty?"

Things like that aren't expected at formal ceremonies but Mr. Keyserling feels passionately. Come to think of it, he's right, too, or maybe 90 percent right. The CEA has shown that it can pull the nation up from a slump to its fifth year of prosperity. But now will it take the next step?

The US can produce abundance; but abundance of what? As Kenneth Galbraith says, "There is private opulence and public squalor. . . . The engines of mass communication, in their higher state of development, assail the eyes and ears of the community on behalf of more beer but not of more schools."

Leon Keyserling's cry (and the audience gave him a burst of applause before recovering its dignity) was that we must put conscience into the new mechanism; that the time has come when we have got to think of social ends as well as economic ends. In specific terms he says that the country got its current prosperity by giving tax cuts instead of building schools. He says the tax cuts on an annual basis amount to about $20 billion. Half of this, he figures, went to corporations and the affluent. Now the CEA is in a box. Prosperity threatens inflation. The CEA does not want to raise the minimum wage of the poor and exploited above $1.40 an hour. Yet a year or so ago Mr. Keyserling recalls, "it increased by 16 percent the disposable income of a married couple with two children having an annual income of $200,000." One thing the CEA has learned: It is easier to pull a nation up to prosperity than to keep it there with stable prices.

Meet the Fixer

★ And finally, friends, if you want to meet an ombudsman, drop in around March 7 to a hearing under Sen. Edward Long (D, Mo.). Alfred Bexelius, the Swedish ombudsman, will be there. Sweden created ombudsmen in 1809. Finland, Denmark, Norway, New Zealand, have them; Great Britain may shortly. Ombudsman? He's the man who guards the people's rights against abuses and malfunctions by government officials. Tell him; he'll fix it.

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The Rusk Doctrine

The White House chose to shave its differences with Senator Robert F. Kennedy over Vietnam. As an alternative to sudden, unilateral withdrawal of US forces or to killing more and more Vietnamese and upping the risk of war with China, Senator Kennedy advised admitting the Viet Cong to a "share in power and responsibility." The Vice President shuddered: it would be like inviting an arsonist into the fire department. Nevertheless, 48 hours later, the President's press secretary, Bill Moyers, told newsmen the Administration does not rule out the possibility of Viet Cong participation, either in a provisional government preceding free elections in the South, or in a government arising out of such elections. Moyers' assurance suggests that we are not bound as tightly to the survival of General Ky's regime as we said we were in the Declaration of Honolulu. It would be wrong, however, to say that the Administration is really ready to concede some place to the National Liberation Front in Vietnam's future. For alongside Mr. Moyers' rejoinder to Senator Kennedy, one must place the more detailed exposition by the Secretary of State in his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 18.

It is not testimony to put heart or hope into those who want a tolerable end to this senseless struggle. For huge consequences hinge, in Mr. Rusk's mind, on who governs South Vietnam. Here, in this small country of ancient but altogether different traditions, he sees a test of whether freedom can survive; or whether world peace itself is possible. It is not experience which informs the Secretary's fear of intractable and expanding Communist rule (experience of Communism in Eastern Europe, in Indonesia, in relations between China and Russia teaches another and more hopeful lesson), but his apocalyptic vision of a gathering storm.

Throughout his testimony, Mr. Rusk held aloft two words: "commitment" and "aggression." The commitment that binds us to consume a billion dollars a month and thousands of lives derives from a "fundamental SEATO obligation that has from the outset guided our actions in South Vietnam"; more precisely, Article IV of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, which says: "Each party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area or against any of the parties or against any state or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate [such as South Vietnam], would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with

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The Casualties Nobody Knows

Senator Pell: Why is it so difficult for us to get an estimate of the number of civilian casualties of the war? We have a real problem here.

Secretary Rusk: I don't know, Senator, you asked that of Mr. Bell and they are working on it.

Senator Pell: He told us they could not furnish it.

Secretary Rusk: . . . a great effort is being made to avoid civilian casualties wherever possible, and I just don't know, I have not myself seen any such figures. I can assure you that it is not a case of withholding figures. I just don't believe we have reliable or approximate figures on that.

its constitutional processes." Having decided years ago, that the Viet Cong did "endanger its own peace and safety" (however tenuous the evidence to justify that determination) the United States intervened.

But there is another section of Article IV not cited by the Secretary in his testimony. It obliges SEATO members, in the event of "any act or situation which might endanger the peace of the area," to "consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defense." How has that obligation been met? The "outset" of our commitment to various Saigon regimes dates from 1954 – beginning with US economic support, followed by military advisers and then the sending of armed forces that now outnumber the hard-core and part-time forces of the Viet Cong. Not until April 1963 did the SEATO Council of Ministers formally address themselves to the "common defense," and then merely "took note" of a report by Secretary Rusk on the improved military situation in Vietnam. The first explicit SEATO pledge of support (France abstaining) did not come until 1964, when the Council of Ministers expressed its "grave concern . . . deep interest and sympathy." Last year, finally, the SEATO communique did call for "defeat of this Communist campaign" – with Pakistan joining France in abstention. As for contributions to the "common defense," TRB's *Washington Report* in this issue gives the facts. As of February 1966, our SEATO partners have supplied the following combat strength: Great Britain, none; France, none; Thailand, none; Pakistan, none; the Philippines, none; New Zealand, 300; Australia, 1,500.

George Kennan and others believe we are dangerously overcommitted in Vietnam. Not Mr. Rusk. Indeed, Vietnam is only one of many such commitments. As James Reston describes the Secretary's view: "The United States is committed to oppose Communist aggression all along the periphery of the Communist nations from the North Cape of Norway through the heart of Europe to Greece and Turkey (NATO); along the southern frontier of the Soviet Union in the Near and Middle East (The Eisenhower Resolution); and thence through Southeast Asia (SEATO) to Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Japan and Korea. And if you add our obligations under the Organization of American States and our obligations under the United Nations, you take in most of the rest of the world."

What exactly are we committed to defend in all these places? It is not clear. From the Secretary's testimony (and the example of US armed intervention in the Dominican Republic), it seems we are committed to do more than help allies if they are militarily attacked by another country. For when the Secretary uses his second favorite word, "aggression," he includes both invasions across national boundaries and "wars of national liberation," which is to say, internal subversion and civil war. The Rusk Doctrine, Mr. Reston notes, "makes the Monroe Doctrine or the Truman Doctrine seem rather cheap."

In explaining this broader US commitment, the Secretary reminded the Senators that "many of them [our allies] deal with these problems in their own way, without having to call upon us for direct involvement or assistance, say, with our forces." Thus Mr. Rusk reassures his countrymen that American troops are not likely to be needed in too many places simultaneously. For example, in "Latin America, some of them have dealt with it at the ballot boxes, and some with their own local forces, and in Western Europe they made an enormous contribution by working internal arrangements and a constitutional basis that helped to protect them against pressures from the Communist side." The conclusion seems inescapable that had the governments of these countries not been able to withstand internal Communist pressures, the US would have been committed to supply on demand its arms and men.

What does the Secretary mean by "aggression" in the context of Vietnam? Are US troops there to punish invaders from without? Or is this, as others say, essentially a civil war? Mr. Rusk grants that "there are elements of civil war in this situation"; nevertheless he insists that "the heart of the problem is the external aggression." From where?

Senator Church: Chinese combat troops have not become involved in the fighting in Vietnam.
Secretary Rusk: That is correct, sir.
Senator Church: So that we are not faced here, as we were in Korea, with an actual Chinese invasion of Vietnam.
Secretary Rusk: . . . That is correct, sir.

The "elementary fact," continues Mr. Rusk, "is that there is an aggression in the form of an armed attack

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by North Vietnam against South Vietnam." (The President used the word "invader" last week; and on the day he spoke it was announced that about 96,000 men had deserted from the South Vietnamese armed forces in 1965.) Are North Vietnam and South Vietnam then two countries? Sometimes, Mr Rusk implies they are. Thus, "we wish only that the people of South Vietnam should have the right and opportunity to determine their future in freedom without coercion or threat, from the outside." North Vietnam is referred to as a "Communist country." On the other hand, he explains the war as "one further effort by a Communist regime in one half of a divided country to take over the people of the other half at the point of a gun and against their will."

Senator Fulbright: It is not our country. It used to be one country.
Secretary Rusk: But there was a settlement, Mr. Chairman, on the basis of the 17th parallel. . . .
Senator Fulbright: What kind of settlement was it? I think it would be fine if you would make it very precise. Did it divide it into two separate nations?
Secretary Rusk: It did not establish it as two separate nations, but it provided some procedure by which this could occur if that is what the people wanted.

There has certainly been coercion and threats and more "from the outside." Perhaps then the Secretary means that "external aggression" is the heart of the problem because the Soviet Union and Communist China are meeting their commitments to their Vietnamese friends. They are, though more modestly than we are aiding "our" Vietnamese. But it is not a point to be made much of. As Senator John F. Kennedy said in 1957, "Most political revolutions – including our own – have been buoyed by outside aid in men, weapons and ideas."

If the North Vietnamese are to be identified as the aggressors – though their troops account for a very small percentage of the forces against us in the South – then *they* must be "outsiders." But if they are, are there two Vietnam nations? And if so, what did the Secretary have in mind when he told the South Vietnamese in April 1964, that "some day that regime in Hanoi will disappear and you [the South Vietnamese] and your brothers in the North will be able to join in a free and democratic Vietnam." Brothers?

To those who see no profit and much loss in this deepening commitment to destruction in Vietnam and who speak out against it, the Secretary has a rock bottom rejoinder: "They [the doubters] have not learned the lessons of the thirties." Mr. Rusk concludes that the 20-year struggle of the followers of Ho Chi Minh to control their country is equivalent to the march of Nazi troops across Europe, comparable in its malevolent design, comparable in its threat to the security of the United States. It is, as Mr. Kennan has said, a "fatally unfortunate conclusion." Nevertheless, Operation Brainwash proceeds, assisted by General Taylor, Hanson Baldwin and other believers in the analogy with Munich. Those who would restrain our hand, who would hold and wait, who would prefer an accommodation to the brutalizing expansion of this war are dubbed defeatists. Mr. Rusk would have us believe that if victory eludes us it will not be the fault of our leaders but of doubters who stabbed them in the back.

Deferring Which College Students?

The Selective Service System has developed an elaborate scheme for helping local draft boards decide which college students to tap. The plan is to draft from among those in the lower halves of their college classes, and to allow such students the option of taking a test. If they pass the test, they are to be deferred, even if they are at the bottom of their classes.

All educational achievement tests, such as the kind being readied for Selective Service use, show lower average scores for those from poorer and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds. Students from the affluent middle class already have the family, money and social support for going to college. Even without higher education, they have a better chance than students from less privileged homes to establish careers. Yet these students, who can better tolerate an interruption or cessation of their education, are the ones who would get the lion's share of deferments.

Classroom rank works no better than tests. Students from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds tend to fall at the low end of the distribution of college grades, just as they do on tests. The use of classroom standing, beyond simple ability to maintain passing grades, will therefore discriminate against students who come to college from inadequate lower schools. Is it right that the burden of sacrifice should fall more heavily on them and their families? The draft already hits the poor harder, because fewer of them have been able to take advantage of educational deferments. It would compound the sacrifices of lower-income families even

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more if those few who have been able to enter higher education are again disproportionately drafted.

Offering deferments on the basis of class rank and test scores has other unpleasant implications. It would put more pressure, already great in a society which prizes the symbols of grades and test scores, on students to enter the less challenging colleges, rather than risk competition at universities which attract the more intellectually able. The same process would encourage exceptionally able students from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds who are able to get into colleges of established excellence to go instead to less demanding colleges, where they would have a better chance of achieving a high class rank, and a deferment.

Under the proposed plan, moreover, students will tend to gravitate to the easier courses. It would be a rare biology student who would risk losing his deferment by taking an Asian history course, where he would be up against history majors.

Results of a Selective Service deferment test for students during the Korean War show that students in engineering and the sciences scored higher on the whole than those in the liberal arts and social sciences. Apparently the tests were weighted toward engineering and technology. If the new tests are like them, they too will discriminate among choices of study. Given the practical impossibility of constructing a test of educational attainment that will be equally fair to students in all fields of higher education, a disturbing possibility arises that a policy of bias against certain types of scholarship may be implicit in the tests, put there by test constructors with no legitimate right to make public policy and based on an imperfect technology that makes it easier to measure some kinds of learning on a test than others.

Using test scores and grade ranks as bases for deferments of college students is educationally unsound and inevitably unfair. If college students are to be drafted, let it be on the only fair basis – pure chance.

Be Happy, Light Up

The Senate Commerce Committee has been treated to the world premiere of a new Warner Brothers film, *World of Pleasure*, soon to be seen (perhaps) in theatres in 15 nations. It will not win an Oscar, but the Department of Agriculture will be happy if it just hooks a few new cigarette smokers. While the Surgeon General was reporting a causal connection between cigarette smoking and lung cancer, and while Congress was enacting a mild law requiring health warnings on cigarette packs, the Department of Agriculture was spending $106,000 to make a 20-minute film, in five different languages, touting the pleasures of smoking. The film's existence was discovered by Don Oberdorfer, a reporter for the Knight newspapers, who wondered what the Department was doing these days for tobacco growers. He found that Agriculture spent $210,000 last year to subsidize cigarette commercials in Japan, Thailand and Austria, and that it was about to release *World of Pleasure*, a fatuous travelogue. Everywhere one goes, a young couple is lighting up – at Hollywood and Vine, in the shadow of the Sphinx, in a Parisian cafe, in Winston-Salem, N.C. Ephrem Zimbalist Jr., the English-language film's narrator, delivers the cigarette message: "Capture the flavor of the land and one of its most pleasurable products" . . . "Tobacco is a part of the lives of millions of people throughout the world – the pure joy part" . . . "A symbol of pleasure within the reach of everyone" . . . "An odyssey of global enjoyment."

Nowhere in the credits is the hand of the Department of Agriculture visible. Nor is it explained that the Burley and Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, the Leaf Tobacco Exporters Association, Tobacco Associates, Inc., and the Virginia Dark-Fired and Sun-Cured Tobacco Export Association were parties to the contract with Warner Brothers. (Senator Thruston Morton of Kentucky, who approves of the film, speculated at last week's hearing that it would spoil the film's "soft-sell" to disclose that the US government was responsible for it. If you labeled the film, he said, it would automatically be called propaganda. People would be saying "the Department of Agriculture is giving us a lot of bunk.")

The Department of Agriculture says it cannot discriminate against one commodity when it makes similar films promoting the sale of others – lard, for example. Moreover, the film will only be shown in countries which welcome it. (The film contract calls for distribution in England, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, all of which according to Senator Magnuson have government campaigns against smoking. England, Magnuson said, prohibits cigarette advertising altogether.) Anyway, explains the Department, the film was paid for out of counterpart funds amassed in the Food for Peace program which must be spent abroad.

David L. Hume, assistant administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service of USDA, defends the Department for looking after the interests of the "700,000 farm families engaged in tobacco production" in the US. In a letter to Mr. Magnuson, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John Gardner calls attention to broader interests: "The overwhelming weight of scientific evidence indicates a strong link between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. We consider it essential to make that fact known as widely as possible." It was Secretary Gardner's understanding that *World of Pleasure* had not yet been released. It shouldn't be.

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Uranium Mystery in the Colorado Basin

A special report by the Public Health Service that suggests potential radium radiation hazards to human life in the Colorado River Basin languishes in Secretary John Gardner's office at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The Atomic Energy Commission opposes its release, fearing "public hysteria" if its contents are revealed. Thus far, the fears of the AEC have prevailed:

The report is put together like a child's storybook, with numerous color photographs showing a snow-like substance that is not snow at all, piled in huge dunes, some by the millions of tons, along the banks of the Colorado and some of its tributaries. Some of these piles drift restlessly near the towns of Grand Junction and Durango, Colorado, and nearby Indian reservations. The snow analogy ends there. These are piles of uranium tailings, containing quantities of radioactive radium and other by-products of the uranium mills under contract with the AEC. Over the years, these mills have dumped their wastes along the river banks after the U-235 has been processed out of the ore. What concerns the Public Health Service is that these wastes contain radium-226, with a half-life of 1,600 years, and to a lesser extent, thorium-230, with a half-life of 80,000 years. Their immediate effects on humans are not known for certain. The critical portions of the human body affected over time by this kind of radioactivity are the bones, according to specialists.

Though the PHS is most concerned about this cumulative impact, some of the piles have been eroded to the point that as far downstream as 30 miles radium-226 has been found in quantities estimated to be twice the maximum permissible concentration recommended by the government for human consumption. In the Lake Powell and Lake Mead reservoirs downstream from the mills, the concentrations of radium-226 have been shown to be as much as three times the maximum permissible levels. Of this radioactive radium-226 that enters the river, the report says: "There is evidence that once they [the tailings] become part of the stream environment the tailings constitute a relatively long-term source of dissolved radium-226."

Since the early 1940's uranium-ore production has been a major industry in the Colorado River Basin area. There have been as many as a dozen processing mills and five concentrators at one time or another in operation. One problem in the mid-1950's was the substantial amounts of surface water radioactivity in the area. The state of Colorado, the AEC, the PHS and industry have combated that threat. Nevertheless, the uranium tailings piles have continued to grow, and while some of the plants have ceased operation the piles remain there, exposed to the elements.

Take the case of Naturita, where the Vanadium Corporation ran a processing plant on the edge of the San Miguel River. The plant is closed, but on a low flood plain and running to the river's edge is a pile of almost 300,000 tons of tailings. Wind drives the dust to the river; high waters erode and carry off the tailings downstream.

Near Durango are two sizable piles, one of about 1.3 million tons. It reaches 230 feet and sits on a shelf between a steep slope and the Animas River. The PHS sees "the possibility of a large slide into the river [that] cannot be ignored, particularly if precipitation wetted the pile sufficiently to produce further instability. The interior of the pile has been reported to be saturated with moisture." A second pile of about 380,000 tons is located further from the river, but the wind has blown the radium-226 tailings into the water. Water runoff has carried additional quantities down the riverbank.

The PHS also estimates that about 2,000 grams of radium-226 are contained in piles of tailings at seven closed mills. This is considered less than one-fourth of the total quantity of radium-226 estimated to be present in the 12 million tons of waste tailings from all the plants in the Colorado River Basin, whether operating or closed.

In some cases the tailings have been covered with foliage to prevent erosion. But for the dunes of tailings that shift and twist their way into the rivers of Colorado, the PHS has recommended that immediate, "interim" steps be taken to stop distribution of radium-226 for the next 10 or 20 years.

These would have to be sufficient to prevent the spread of the radioactive material into algae, insects, fish and certain crops such as alfalfa and hay, which the PHS says have the tendency to concentrate radium. Crops on farms irrigated by the Animas River, for instance, were shown to contain twice as much radium-226 as did similar crops upstream above the mills. The cost of control, says the PHS, would "prove to be exceedingly small in most cases when compared to the $28,803,035 received in 1964 for uranium concentrate by the mills then operating in the state of Colorado." The best method of control, according to the PHS, would be enough earth cover, perhaps two feet, to support vegetation. The total cost for all the piles might be $700,000, based on PHS estimates. Whether this is a course the AEC and industry would favor is unknown at this point, though the AEC, in a memorandum that states the Commission's objections to the report, believes that controls on the tailings would cost much more.

Nor is it certain when the PHS report will be made public. It is dated October 1965. Several congressmen have copies, so it is probably only a matter of time.

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At Sea with Johnson

When the President appointed Mr. Nicholas Johnson head of the Maritime Administration two years ago there was wide expectation that this young lawyer, who had never set foot aboard a merchant ship, might shake some life into a senile industry. For a time the expectations seemed on the edge of fulfillment. Last year, the President said he would soon announce a new maritime policy. He never did, and this year's State of the Union message didn't mention the subject. As for Nicholas Johnson, he got no visible support from the White House, and instead was left to be hacked to pieces by the shipping companies and their attendant unions who are notorious for bringing on their own ruin. Nicholas Johnson now is widely said to be finished and about to leave his post.

The federal government puts $300 million a year into building an American merchant fleet. With each infusion of money the business looks more sickly. Only half the 1,850 ships in the fleet are sailing. Fifteen percent of the total fleet was built after 1946, which means that most of the ships are slow, ill-equipped to handle modern containerized cargoes, and unable to accommodate the growing trade in dry bulk cargoes, such as grain, coal and iron ore.

At the heart of the present subsidy scheme are 14 companies that operate 300 merchant ships. These firms are subsidized in a number of different ways. The government pays them $200 million annually to help meet the costs of running their vessels; half their cargo is guaranteed by the government in PL-480, Agency for International Development and Defense Department shipments. As a further support, the government pays these lines higher than world market rates for carrying the guaranteed cargoes. The companies do not compete against each other, since the government gives them a monopoly on trade routes they ply. In addition, the US pays $100 million a year to help them build new ships in American shipyards where prices are 200 percent higher than abroad. The subsidized lines pay only 26 percent of earnings in taxes compared with 48 percent for most corporations.

The subsidized lines have to share the government cargoes with several hundred other American ships which get the same rate preference, but which do not get the same help in covering direct operating expenses or in replacing old ships with new ones. This has the effect of keeping them from building new ships.

While the shipping industry laments its precipitous decline, the 14 subsidized lines may turn out to profit from the more general ruin. As the ships of the unsubsidized lines sink or are junked, the subsidized lines will carry an increasing portion of government cargo, until finally they will be guaranteed full holds.

A government task-force report, put together under the direction of Alan Boyd, Undersecretary of Commerce, makes all this clear; and the report largely reflects the thinking of Nicholas Johnson. It proposes a new policy which would result in a fleet of 790 American flagships by 1985 that would cost the government $377 million in annual subsidy. If the present subsidy program is followed, by 1985 the fleet is expected to decline to 690 ships that will cost the taxpayers $594 million each year. The task force would permit American ship companies to build their vessels at cheaper prices abroad. With the exception of Defense Department cargoes, government shipments would be up for competitive bidding and could be carried by American as well as foreign vessels. American ships could qualify for subsidies if they agreed to compete on trade routes and their subsidy would be based on total earnings, an incentive to compete.

The Boyd task-force report appeared October 4, 1965 and within two months was countered by a report of the Maritime Advisory Committee, and an industry-labor group set up by the President after he had appointed Nicholas Johnson maritime administrator. The committee report takes a straightforward protectionist line, arguing that the Congress should increase the subsidy payments until American ships carry 30 percent of our foreign trade. The committee is against building abroad. Mr. Wirtz, the Secretary of Labor, is said to favor this protectionist statement, perhaps in deference to the maritime unions. Mr. Connor, the Secretary of Commerce, recently came out against building ships abroad. There is little enthusiasm for Nicholas Johnson's ideas in the Congress.

Not long ago, the Navy admirals declared the US merchant fleet was not sufficient to support the Vietnam war effort, and while they were slapped down by Secretary McNamara, the shipping lobby got added fuel. Now the AFL-CIO maritime trades department is threatening a boycott of vessels of all nations that trade with Vietnam, which is just another way of pressuring the President to put more money into the merchant marine. This leaves Nicholas Johnson isolated.

The White House has nobody to thank for this mess but itself On the one hand, the President appointed a new maritime administrator in February 1964 to work up a new policy. A few months later he named an industry-labor group to do the same thing. These people, of course, all were meant to arrive at a consensus, but, it never works like that. The factions that were meant to be regulated end by writing the rules under which they can best exist.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

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TED HEATH HASN'T YET SHOWN HEAVYWEIGHT FORM

Tories on the Ropes

London

Britain's Tories are in more trouble than anyone thought they would be six months ago, and they know it. They now realize that the Wilson government is not a thing of a day, that the narrow majority makes it a more rather than less difficult government to dislodge, and that it will be dislodged in the end, as are all governments, as much by its own mistakes as by the attacks of the opposition. It was not for this that last summer the Tories changed leaders.

Ted Heath was elected as the man most likely to administer the knockout blow to Labour. His more avid supporters assumed he would take this in his stride. It has not worked out like that. For a start, summer's Parliamentary dead season lay ahead with its built-in news advantage for the government; then, before the air was decently chilled, Rhodesia bubbled over, handing Wilson the national cause he wanted, "my Cuba," he calls it. Heath, in his first real leadership test, saw his party divide three ways – for, against and neutral – on the oil embargo. The impression given was of a party totally out of control, and a leadership waiting to catch the turning tide just as soon as Rhodesian yelps began to make an impact in Britain. It was not exactly rocking the boat, but it was hardly helping to paddle either, and majority opinion, still behind Wilson on the issue, has marked Heath down for it.

What got overlooked in all the earlier party and press clamor for Heath as the man of action, man of the hour almost, was that he was a politician with whom the public was hardly familiar, and scarcely at ease. He is not, after all, the sort of leader Britain had been used to getting from the Conservatives, which is precisely why in the mad rush to junk Sir Alec Douglas-Home and all that he meant, Heath came out on top. But a Heath-type aggressive, technocratic, modernizing Tory Party is neither immediately credible, nor necessarily instantly appealing. A country which increasingly takes its politics off the television set notes that the new leader is forceful rather than persuasive, calm and yet not comforting.

Part of the trouble is Heath's bachelor status. The British, like the Americans, though in a quieter way, like their politicians flanked by wife and family. But this is a mere quibble. In choosing Heath, Tories thought they killed off the traditional Tory image of Eton, grousemoors and landed estates. In Heath they would have a leader of modest background, self-made, a genuine match for Wilson. In these crude class terms, however, it is no match. Heath's lower-middle-class origins, thickly overlaid with Oxford, the army and years in the Tory Party, count for nothing against Wilson's pipe and residual Yorkshire brogue.

Another assumption behind the choice of Heath was that the party's pull with the lower-class vote based on a deferential vote for one's betters was played out, so why not elect a man patently *not* born-to-rule. It was an act of panic. The panic stemmed from a thorough misreading of the record of the man Heath succeeded – Douglas-Home. His defect lay not in his being an aristocrat, but in the impression he gave of being a somewhat inept politician. The Tories compounded the damage, not simply in electing Heath – for there were good and sufficient other grounds for choosing him – but in lumbering him in advance with a suburban aura which could only harm both leader and party. Heath's main task now is to establish himself as a leader in the direct line of Tory succession. If he does not do this, then there is great danger of steady erosion of the deferential vote that has kept the Tories Britain's majority party throughout this century.

Heath's comparative youth makes it no easier. In going to the under-50's for a new leader, the Tories again thought they had got it right. Again they broke tradition and threw away an advantage. The switch to a younger man first makes the passed-over half of the Tory team look old and faded, and then makes the younger half, when set against Labour's key ministers, look tender and inexperienced. This, remember, is the same group of Labour men who two years ago in opposition were thought by many incapable of running a government at all. The British are by nature wary of young politicians. This is why when it comes to a crisis, whether in Rhodesia or on the railways, the bulk of the country looks to the man who takes care to appear both wiser and older than his years, Harold Wilson; the rest look wistfully to Douglas-Home, as a sort of latter-day Balfour, or even that survivor from many Conservative administrations, Selwyn Lloyd.

Having Douglas-Home and Lloyd still active in the party is, on balance, a help to Heath rather than a hindrance. They carry some weight in the country at large, but they are both loyal and content not to crowd him. The same cannot be said of Heath's contemporaries – Reginald Maudling, Iain MacLeod and Enoch Powell.

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They are all alternative Tory leaders, and they know it. They are all men of independent mind, and they speak it. And in past months it is they who have warmed up party debate on contentious issues, be it defense, Rhodesia, prices and incomes or trade unions. The free-for-all is reminiscent of the Labour Party in its stormy days under Hugh Gaitskell. It is a temptation into which all oppositions easily fall. But what turns this temptation into a dangerous trap is that in these debates the voice of the leader has not been clearly heard.

This touches on Heath's major weakness. He has not shown himself a man for the rough and tumble, within the party or without. Again the omens were wrong. The assumption was that Heath, the man who as chief whip held the party together at Suez, the man who led the battle to join the Common Market, the man who drove through the abolition of the price-fixing system of resale price maintenance, could crack heads with the best of them. But so far it is not quite like that at all.

There may not be much time left for Heath to take hold. The pressure on Harold Wilson to call a new election is increasing, and Labour would go into a spring campaign the firm favorite. Some government planners are not convinced that Labour's lead is invincible, and that may give Wilson pause. If however, whenever it comes, the Tories under Heath fail to put up a convincing performance, it will be quickly remembered that Ted Heath was elected not selected, and that a man by ballot put in can be just as deftly by ballot put out. After a serious election defeat, if Heath has not risen above the disadvantages imposed upon him, we can expect the agitation to start. The Tory Party *respects success; it is never sentimental in adversity.* And there are many in the party's upper echelon who trained under Harold Macmillan in the business of maneuvering for the top job. BRIAN WENHAM

No Room in the Jail

by Ronald Goldfarb

"... It is no use telling me that society will fall into anarchic dissolution if these unlucky prisoners are treated with common humanity."
—BERNARD SHAW

In the early 1900's, when the streetcar line in Washington, D. C., ended at East Capitol and 14th Streets Southeast, the conductor would call: "All out for the graveyard and the jail." The streetcar is no longer there, the Potters Field graveyard has been dug up, and the neighborhood has an opulent new sports stadium built a few years ago for about $21 million. But the old District of Columbia jail is not much different than in 1875 when it was built for about $400,000.

Within these stone walls, Charles J. Giteau, the assassin of President James Garfield, was executed; so was Mrs. Surratt for her part in Lincoln's murder; the eight Nazi saboteurs who were captured landing on our shores were tried secretly for espionage and killed within this compound; through the years, hundreds of suffragettes and runaway slaves were detained here. Joe Valachi, "the Justice Department's primo canary," has been the latest celebrity resident.

Chain gangs of workhouse prisoners that were used in the past to clean up the Eastern Market and the streets do so no longer. But the District of Columbia jail still has a "death house" where 63 men have been hanged and, since 1925 when it became modern, 41 men have been electrocuted (there have been several double hangings and four triple executions).

In this jurisdiction, criminals convicted of felonies ordinarily go to Lorton Penitentiary; misdemeanants to Occoquan prison; youthful offenders to the Youth Work House; and those with medical or psychiatric problems go to appropriate medical institutions such as St. Elizabeth's. *The District of Columbia jail is not a prison for convicted criminals "doing time"; it is only a waiting or holdover place.* For the most part, this prison population is not made up of convicts. Most who are there are drunks drying out, men and women who have not been convicted, or even tried, but who could not afford to buy their pretrial freedom under our expensive, nonfunctional and unjust bail system, and others who have been convicted and are appealing, but who cannot buy their interim freedom.

Ordinarily when one is charged with committing a crime, bail is set to assure he will show up for trial. If a defendant can afford bail (as about 13 million Americans do each year), he is free to live a normal life until his trial. If he cannot (as about 1.5 million each year cannot), he goes to jail until his trial—which may be months or years in the future. The District of Columbia jail houses these people, as it does defendants who have been convicted and are appeal-

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ing, but who cannot afford bail. The appellate process, like the pretrial process, is time-consuming and drawn-out. Prisoners may elect to begin serving their time right away; then the post-conviction time in jail counts toward reduction of their sentence. This is not the case with regard to pretrial detention time. But even most appealers do not elect to serve, because they do not want the stigma of any implication of guilt, or because they prefer to be in the District of Columbia nearer to their friends, family and lawyer than the far-away penitentiary. So, we are talking here about a detention center, but not necessarily an isle of punishment. Many in the District jail will never be sentenced to serve in a penitentiary. Some will never even be tried; prosecutors frequently drop charges after a while. Many are jailed before their trial and freed after their conviction.

A Human Stockyard

The jail is a hulking, brooding presence occupying the two square blocks between 19th and 20th Streets, Southeast, Independence Avenue and the District of Columbia General Hospital. Surrounding the building is a high spiked fence within which are two barbed-topped cyclone fences. The gates and doors are electrically operated, watched over from hidden places of cover in the building and in the towers. There has been some remodeling (modern toilets have replaced the old bucket system), new installations, such as a woman's wing added in 1926; there is a big clean kitchen, a modest donated library; some new employees, two new towers and the two cyclone fences.

Built to house about 695 prisoners, it today houses 1,200 on an average. Yearly, there is a turnover of 38,000 inmates. Of these, about one-third are charged with felonies; two-thirds are charged with misdemeanors. They range from teen-agers to octogenarians.

On most days the prisoner population of 1,200 breaks down as follows: about 100 are sentenced but awaiting further court action; about 300 are sentenced but awaiting assignment; about 100 are awaiting some administrative action for special reasons (medical, psychological examinations, solitary confinement, escapees, *etc.*). But about 700 have been convicted of nothing; they are simply awaiting trial.

The largest number of cases have to do with intoxication and its progeny of minor charges – disorderly conduct, *etc.* Drunks are brought in by the droves, especially on Mondays.

"My brother worked a day and a half processing in alcoholics and quit," said one prison official.

"If you can get past the stench, the sight of these alcoholics could make you sick," said another. "I asked one how he could live on the streets in the winter with just a suit coat on, and he opened his shirt and I saw that his body was wrapped in old, decayed newspapers. When we took the papers off the man, some of his skin came off with it. I lost my breakfast."

"One alcoholic wore eight pairs of rubbers to keep warm when he slept on the streets. As we took them off and got down to the last pair, part of his foot came off. We sent him to the hospital and they laid him down with his feet out the window in blankets – the smell was so bad."

At the jail, these alcoholics are thrown in at random with other inmates awaiting court action in minor cases. When I asked one of the officials how he felt about the recent Eastar case (in which the imprisonment of alcoholics was questioned) he said that the police are probably saving a lot of lives by arresting these people, but that the jail is not the place to deal with them after they are picked up from the streets. Proper hospitalization might help alcoholics; it surely would relieve the prison overpopulation problem.

In 1926, $275,000 was appropriated by Congress to construct a new wing, after the assistant editor of the Washington *Evening Star* got himself arrested and incarcerated as a vagrant in order to write a story about the "overcrowded" jail. Thirty years earlier, a reporter had done the same thing, describing the conditions as "far too nauseating and brutal for anyone to believe."

Some years ago, when there was more public criticism about the inhuman space of the cells, they were expanded – two made into one. Then came the congressional (Hebar) investigation of 1945; again the cells were condemned, but no new construction was forthcoming. In the last 20 years the jail has become so jam-packed that the beds in the same old cells have been double-decked. By double-decking in all the cells (including the maximum security cells), which by standards set 20 years ago were to house one person only, the jail has been able to pack in its average 1,200 population. "Right now we are at a bursting point," says Prison Superintendent Paul Preston. And with accurate understatement, he wonders how any rehabilitative efforts could be made in a place like this.

To house men charged only with misdemeanors, dormitories are used. There are two dormitories – 180-by-120 feet – the size of three tennis courts. Into each are herded about 500 prisoners. There is a narrow aisle for passage up the middle of the room teeming with double-decked beds and men. There is nothing else in the room. It is like a human stockyard. One prison official, ashamed and offended, referred to the

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dormitories as "the Black Hole of Calcutta." The few windows are barred. Some mattresses are crammed into places where the windows are broken.

Mattresses without beds have been placed on the floor in an adjoining recreation room (an old chapel) to hold some of the overflow from these dormitories. There is one guard for each 350 prisoners. In these dorms the prisoners sleep, play cards, lie or mill about with nothing to do – nothing is required, nothing is provided, little is allowed. The men cannot work (some clean or do chores); they get no exercise; they do not go outside the building.

The tiers of cells for those charged with the more serious crimes look like every 1940 James Cagney movie version of a prison. Two men are closeted in each six-by-eight-by-nine-foot cell (the size of the surface of a pool table). Each cell has (besides two men) double-decked beds, an open toilet, a small narrow table and a chair, three steel walls, no windows. Electrically operated bars lock the entry. There is no room to pace. The men lie and sit around in their prison trousers (few wear shirts, it is so hot), fester, corrupt each other.

I stopped at a cell and asked one man if he cared to talk. He rolled off his bed and ambled up to the bars. He said that he had been there over a year *waiting to be tried*. He seemed to understand little about why he was there or what was happening. Another told me his mother borrowed $300 to get him bail but his bondsman immediately turned him in, and he has been there for over six months. Another has been there almost a year because of delays in his trial date. Some don't get attorneys for months; once having obtained counsel, some rarely see them during their prolonged pretrial confinement. Recently the chief assistant US attorney in the District was shocked to discover that two men were in jail almost a year *and had not been indicted*. He got them out.

Degrading Effects

The inmates have no personal contact with the world outside. Occasionally, they sit in a gigantic room across a table from their lawyer under scrutiny of nearby prison guards. They communicate with personal visitors infrequently. They sit in a booth before a small glass window through which they can view guests while talking over the phone. At each window, phone to her ear, is a young – in every case the day I passed through – Negro girl. She talks to a pair of eyes peering back through the glass.

Two problems that exist in all prisons, but which are compounded in the District of Columbia jail because of lack of space, are integration and homosexuality. There are about 10 Negroes for every white inmate (the ratio is a bit less than two to one, Negro to white in Washington). There is segregation, but it is a question not of civil rights but of peacekeeping. If there is any enmity between races when they enter this jail, it is aggravated by Black Muslimism. The federal courts recently ruled that no matter how menacing of public order, no matter how creative of tension and resentment between inmates, no matter how agitating and inflammatory the Muslim preachments of racial hatred, prison officials may not, to regulate discipline in their jails, forbid Muslim "religious" meetings. Whether inmates attend these meetings to seek inner peace, contrition or enlightenment, or just to get out of their cells for a few hours, they are subjected to an indoctrination which may well wind within them a time-bomb of racial hate.

Cramming two young people of the same sex into a jammed cell for long periods with nothing to do has obvious degrading effects. According to Commissioner of Corrections Thomas Sard, these conditions lead to concealed private acts of homosexuality, occasional acts of forced sodomy, as well as blatant open affairs between inveterate "queers" and inmates who compete for their favors. Lesbianism is a big problem in the woman's wing, too, prison officials say.

A relevant study is reported in a recent article in *Natural History*. In the Chesapeake Bay, less than a mile offshore, there is an uninhabited 280-acre island. In 1916 several Sika deer were put on this island, and by 1955 there were about 300 deer. Suddenly, within two years, all but 80 of them were dead. There was no apparent cause; food was plentiful; the carcasses of the dead deer seemed in excellent condition. But one distinct physical characteristic of the dead deer became apparent to investigating ethnologists. The size of the dead animals' adrenal glands had expanded considerably. The adrenal glands respond to stress by enlargement and also by activity – some animals grow savage. Scientists concluded that these animals' body workings had responded to density in mortal ways.

A related experiment has shown that there is a relationship between aggressiveness, the physical distance between animals, and death. When animal societies reach a critical territorial or minimum-space density they cannot survive. If animals have this recordable physical reaction to crowding, consider the corresponding physical and psychological reactions in comparable circumstances of the human animal.

I asked one official why no one who could do something about it had seen how things are in the District jail. He said that periodically local grand juries came through.

"What do they say?" I asked.

"They usually comment about how clean we keep things."

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New Hope for Republicans

by Andrew Kopkind

As a party, the Republicans are no better off than they were 15 months ago. The "unity" which Chairman Ray Bliss was supposed to have found comes down to little more than avoiding all controversy over leadership, strategy or policies. But there are a dozen or so Republican leaders scattered across the US (many of whom I visited last month) who in dealing with state and local problems cannot altogether avoid controversy, and who are developing an approach to politics which differs importantly from both the Goldwaterites and the consensus Democrats. It is too early to say that these Republicans constitute an appealing enough alternative government on the national scene, and they are all trapped by some built-in paradoxes of Republicanism. But they have a freshness, even a rebelliousness which is the seed of growth.

The most inventive of the "modern" Republicans are undergoing the purifying experience of challenging entrenched Democratic machines. John Lindsay's extravagant, flamboyant, often furious campaign in New York City last November was one model. He disavowed, as categorically as he could, all resemblance to the conservative Republican image, and more than that, built an independent organization that might be mobilized for political action after election day. In Philadelphia, Arlen Specter (until a few weeks ago a registered Democrat) ran as a Republican with the support of the local Americans for Democratic Action chapter, and the tacit approval of Democratic Senator Joseph Clark, against the incumbent machine district attorney, James Crumlish. The machine had national Democratic support, most notably in the form of Vice President Humphrey, but it lost badly to Specter.

In Chicago, Charles Percy is again doing battle with the larger-than-life Democratic organization of Mayor Richard Daley. Percy's quest, when last we viewed it, had taken him into conflict with Illinois Governor Otto Kerner. Goldwater, President Johnson, and Daley, with a little help perhaps from Kerner, all conspired to do Percy in (although he ran a million votes ahead of the Goldwater ticket). Now, he is taking on Senator Paul Douglas, a liberal who has a relationship with the Daley machine that only the most politically sophisticated can define. Douglas repays Daley for his campaign kindnesses by staying out of Chicago's problems. In the scheme of politics, Douglas provides "liberal cover" for the tough machine politics Daley runs, but that is a difficult point to put across in a campaign, and Percy will have trouble making it. Still, it takes a certain amount of courage, even impertinence, for an unexperienced nonpolitician to challenge a political monument like Paul Douglas. "Douglas is like Everest," an independent Democrat said in Chicago. "You make the assault because he's there."

Percy is learning more than he knew last time how a machine, despite the benevolence of its operators, can oppress a whole city – or a state. Like Lindsay, Percy has to slash deeply into the body of the machine, bring whole new groups to positions of power, and upset relationships between business, labor and politics which have kept things running smoothly, and unresponsively, for years. While Daley looks upon the organizing campaign of Martin Luther King in the slums of Chicago with extreme apprehension, Percy sees it as an opportunity for a new political alignment; he must get a good percentage of the Negro vote to win. Douglas has to rely on the Daley machine, as well as his own good record on civil rights and welfare legislation, to pull him through via the traditional Democratic channels in the Negro ghettoes.

Like so many of the new Republicans, Percy is well-scrubbed, God-fearing, courteous, kind and obedient. Big business has in large measure left the national Republican Party for the Johnson Consensus, but Percy Republicans still have the look of eager young businessmen on their first sales trip. There is nothing rumpled about them (although to be fair, I came upon Governor George Romney in his enormous wood-paneled office in a cardigan sweater, munching a salami sandwich – or what smelled like a salami sandwich). Democrats talk about God in public; Republicans talk about Him in private, too.

The clean-and-eager quality is important for the Republicans who must seriously damage, if not break up, the old city machines. For the Republican governors, another quality matters more. They must exhibit *competence*, prove that they are better managers than Democrats who are so tied to the national Administration in Washington that they cannot operate efficiently at the state level. Governor Daniel J. Evans of Washington, who won during the Johnson landslide in 1964, fits this role of the new Western technocracy; he sounds

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like a liberal systems-analyst (he is an engineer). That is at least a cut above the level of some of the Democratic politicians who have been around Washington state for a while, representing business interests as much as anything else, and not particularly to the advantage of the general citizenry. Evans is thoughtful and sensitive, and rather put off by the routine of politics. He has ideas about how states should be governed (independently) and about the future of the Republican Party (progressive). He thinks that local government agencies can provide more interesting and useful services than the federal bureaucracy can, and that central planning from Washington, D. C., is "imposed mediocrity." He is not at all against taking federal money, but he prefers to have its specific uses determined closer to home.

He is not unlike his colleague to the south, Governor Mark Hatfield of Oregon, who is running for the Senate seat that Maurine Neuberger is abandoning this year. Hatfield, however, is somewhat handicapped by being an aging boy wonder of progressive Republicanism; he was one of the first of the new wave to roll in at the end of the Eisenhower era. He has been around long enough to alienate many liberal Republicans in his own state ("the exigencies of politics!"), but he has been able to fashion a political foundation on which he can build. He knows that he is a bit frayed about the edges and seeks this year to revive his youthful appeal by some outspoken criticism of US policy in Vietnam. The criticism is not all that courageous, for Democratic Senator Wayne Morse, dearly beloved of all Oregonians, has made it legitimate to say almost anything unfavorable about the war. Still, Hatfield is early on the antiwar bandwagon.

Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania, prohibited from running for another term, is fated to lose some standing in the hierarchy of Republicans with a national following. Until the next opening comes along, Scranton may hit the trail as a "spokesman," as Richard Nixon has done for so long. Still, with Scranton removed from active governing, Romney will be the gainer. The two governors have comprised a kind of unbilled political vaudeville team ever since their soft-shoe dance around the Goldwater act in 1964. They complement (although, in private, they do not compliment) each other: Romney is square-jawed, extroverted and possessed of big thoughts. Scranton has the sidelong glance, the shy smile, the fascination with small mechanisms.

They share an oppressive problem common to Republican governors – what to do about the dead weight of Republican conservatism which helps elect them, but inhibits effective state government? Election of "modern" Republicans has not done much to lighten such burdens. The party's off-year victories last November, such as they were, have reinforced, rather than diminished factionalism within the party. Many on the Republican Right are repelled by the notion of victory-through-Lindsayism. The ghost of the Goldwater campaign has yet to be exorcised; indeed, it roams the land again in the "little Goldwater campaign" Ronald Reagan is running in California. Overall, there are totally contradictory national strategies: the Goldwater idea of a collection of disaffected conservatives, and the Lindsay plan for a coalition of frustrated liberals.

Cities or Suburbs?

National Chairman Bliss likes to think about "winning the cities," or at least winning a big enough portion of urban votes to combine with the hereditary Republican vote in the suburbs and rural areas. But the pressures on the national party from anti-city Republicans are too strong to allow a consistent effort in that direction. The rapid development of the party in the South on an anti-Negro base creates almost insurmountable problems for the city strategy. Theodore Kupferman, who ran in the special election for John Lindsay's old congressional seat in New York City (on a "liberaler-than-thou" platform) was let to drift on his own by Bliss until, at the very last minute, liberal Republicans pleaded successfully for a small token of the national committee's interest. They pointed out that Kupferman was being ignored all during the time Bliss was planning his conference of big-city Republicans.

The modern Republicans are only beginning to collect their ideas. Although organizations like the Republicans for Progress, the Ripon Society and some university clubs are attempting to pull together the "modern Republican experience" and push it into progressive boxes, the successes so far have been small. There is nothing in the GOP comparable to the role of the Americans for Democratic Action or the Democratic Study Group during the Eisenhower Administration, or (on the state level) the California Democratic Council during the long years of Republican domination. Those organizations provided two services: they worked out programs for Democratic platforms, and they harnessed volunteers into independent political teams.

Locally, a few of the modern Republicans are trying the same thing. One is Percy's New Illinois Committee which is both a campaign headquarters and a service organization for Chicago. Citizens are encouraged to use the Committee's "Call for Action" telephone system to complain about their problems in housing, schools, jobs or whatever. The staff sees what can be done to help. Committee researchers are drafting policies in all those areas, and through the Chicago Boys

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Clubs the Percy organization has begun a literacy program.

Lindsay's network of store-front precinct headquarters was an obvious example for Republicans who want to break into lower-class neighborhoods and the ghettoes, for which they have rarely had any affinity. What happens to such grass-roots urban organizations after the election, however, is another matter. Lindsay does not seem as interested as he once sounded in maintaining the store-fronts as centers of decentralized city government. In Michigan, Romney's original volunteer organization, Citizens for Michigan, won some victories (constitutional revision and Romney's election, for two), then petered out. Citizens for Michigan was originally an independent political organization; one of its accomplishments, but not the only one, was electing a candidate. Others were reforming the state constitution and promoting economic development. Now, Romney uses citizens' conferences, which have no life of their own but serve as extension agencies of the Administration.

There is another way to run volunteer political groups. They can, like the California Democratic clubs, remain independent, and the members can work on issues, discuss policies, and perform community services and political action between elections. Although the California clubs have troubles of their own (they are caught between ideologies and candidates), their membership does provide a base of voters and workers for an office-seeker, and these volunteers are not thereafter subservient to him (nor he to the organization).

An Idea-Vacuum

Such free-wheeling political forms are still beyond the Republican candidates, who are barely catching up with citizen-participation techniques that liberal and reform Democrats invented a few political generations ago. In part, this may be because the Republicans are so often isolated from the sources of progressive political energy and ideas – the universities, the academic institutes and the general company of intellectuals. Last year, Lindsay was able to attract "idea men" to his task forces on city problems, but outside of New York, and to a lesser extent Chicago, the Republicans are operating in an idea-vacuum.

Arlen Specter is one of the most competent young Republican officeholders in politics today; it would be surprising (and too bad) if he does not command more impressive political heights than the Philadelphia district attorney's office in the future. But he seems only marginally aware of what might be done to break the Democratic machine in his city. His method, he said, will be to "do the best job I know how" in his office, which is a respectable but unexciting aspiration. His immediate opportunities are limited; he is the only Republican in major city office, and a DA is far from top dog. On the other hand, he has some unique openings: He could, for example, set up neighborhood legal centers to counsel the residents of Philadelphia's vast ghettoes, thereby bringing people from the suburbs outside and inside the city limits across the boundaries of urban apartheid and into the central core.

One endemic weakness, it seems to me, in the modern Republicans' experience is the failure to pack substance into the rhetoric. Some years back, Romney was talking about "breaking up" the monolithic power of big business and big labor. Now, he says he is "still for that," but an aide admitted, "we don't talk about it any more"; the whole idea of corporate and labor decentralization seems to have been popped down a memory hole in Lansing.

There is a Republican canon about government which everyone from Hatfield to Scranton likes to recite. It boils down to bolstering local responsibility against federal power, and for the most part the Republicans are more sincere in their declarations on this point than the simple states-righters. But the most widely-favored program involved is one promulgated by a Democrat: the "Heller Plan" to give federal tax money directly to the states for local use.

Republicans, too, like "metro" government, which would mix suburban and center-city taxpayers in one big pot, presumably for the benefit of all. Larger regional compacts which cut across state lines have obvious administrative advantages. In the bargain, Republicans could shore up their power; suburban votes dilute the Democratic majorities of the core cities. But "metro" government also removes policy decisions from the nitty-gritty of politics. And "metro" government tends to maintain white middle-class control of cities as the cores becomes largely Negro and poor. Such a prospect may be tempting to Republicans, but it does not square with the "city strategy." If they are serious about becoming a progressive force of urban politics, they will have to put those thoughts out of their minds. The poor have a way of sniffing out Republican insincerity. Last November, an attractive young Republican running against an old Democratic machine hack in an Eastern state did poorly in the Negro wards in which he had expected to score highly. He discussed his defeat with another Republican: "The jigs wouldn't vote for me," he complained. His colleague knew exactly why.

The contradictions between what Republicans have been for the last several generations, and what they hope to become is most evident in the ways they confront the Vietnam issue. Almost all the modern Republicans in the states are unhappy about the war, but with the exception of Hatfield, none is as sharply opposed to

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present policy as many Democrats. Lindsay has said the war is the "most unpopular" in US history. Privately, Romney says Americans are living in a "fool's paradise" bearing no relation to the realities of the crisis in foreign policy. Scranton shakes his head sadly when asked about the war, and even Governor Evans, who is something of hardliner (Boeing, after all, is one of Washington state's biggest employers), recognizes the unpleasantness of it all.

And yet to make the "war issue" work for them, Republicans running for office this year (particularly congressional office) will have to express some degree of opposition. The moderns' strategy now seems to be criticism of the situation without offering alternatives. It is doubtful that many will come out hawkish; there are not many new votes for Republicans in the super-patriot camp, and the Republicans dare not antagonize the independent liberal vote which they seek. But here again, Democrats are undercutting them. No Republican has gone as far as Robert Kennedy in opposing the Administration's policy, or as far as Morse in calling for an end to the war. Hatfield has arrived at a Gavin-esque "enclave" policy, or something close to it. His position is not much different from George Kennan's:

The Bird Man of Capitol Hill

neither escalation nor withdrawal. Percy is waiting quietly, and will avoid taking a definitive position on the war until the campaign is well underway. But he will probably come out "softer" than Douglas (who is a very tough ex-Marine). If Percy is to win liberal support in Chicago and the industrial areas away from Douglas, a crusading, bold attack on the war might serve him better than caution. But he will have to do some fancy maneuvering to deal with Illinois' Republican monument, Senator Dirksen, who alternately invites hawks and doves to eat out of his hand.

The notion many Republicans cherish, that they are the only legitimate anti-Communists, and in a sense the authentic American patriots, will not do much to push the GOP into a new progressivism. It is only one of the paradoxes which beset the modern leaders. But in many ways the Johnson Democrats are caught in deeper traps. The Johnson Consensus is not going to break up the slums, it is not going to abolish the class of the poor, it will not make much of a dent in the interlocking system of corporation-labor-government control, it certainly will not reduce bureaucratic centralization. And far from ending the Cold War, the Administration Democrats seem able only to extend it. Yet, the Republicans nationally have still to come up with alternative policies or candidates. The poverty of their leadership is so deep that a plurality of party members favor Richard Nixon as a presidential candidate in 1968.

But if there is to be a Republican alternative, it will come from the collective experience of Percy, Scranton, Specter and Lindsay. There are not many of them, but enough to form a haphazard vanguard: there is Attorney General Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, Governor Robert Smylie of Idaho and Governor Rockefeller. They have a few dozen allies among the congressional Republicans, who are still bulldozed by the powerful conservative bloc, and who for the most part are occupied with purely defensive tactics against the Democratic majority. The moderns have little or nothing to do with the rearguard – the racist Republicans in the South, and the Birchesque Republicans in the Southwest and elsewhere; their appraisal of US politics indicates that the Right can't cope with contemporary problems or the concerns of the majority.

Much of the Republican machinery around the country is still in the hands of the Goldwater faction, and another sizable chunk remains under the control of the small-town conservatives who make the whole Republican Party seem so boring. But those few modern Republicans who have been forced to seek new answers to new problems have come up with the beginnings of a new Republican style which at least gives hope of opening up some political doors that have been closed for years.

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Japan Plays the Field

Peace and Trade with Everyone

by Alex Campbell

Tokyo

Japan is the politest nation in Asia, and the most scrupulously honest in money matters as befits a great trading country. One of those ruddy-cheeked, starched-uniformed girls who preside over the cigarette kiosks in the resplendent marble lobbies of all the huge new office buildings tracked me through 17 floors to give me 10 yen change (less than three cents). Vietnam does not dominate conversation here as it does in Washington. Instead, the Japanese talk about what they call their recession, though they have never seemed more prosperous. Politeness notwithstanding, it is clear they think the United States doesn't understand Asia, or Asians, and is a clumsy *gaijin* (foreigner) in Vietnam. The Japanese are admirably situated to see both sides of the coin, for their big daily newspapers, with four-million circulations, have diligent correspondents in North as well as South Vietnam.

Some tough-minded conservatives, one of whom is Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, don't mind if the US, as an insurance against possible Chinese expansionism, stays in or around Vietnam, provided the Americans keep the fighting low-keyed and so make it unnecessary for China to fight the US. That is what Mr. Sato means when he says that "Japan fully appreciates the material and spiritual sacrifice the United States is making in Vietnam." Sato is quick to add that "Japan can give the United States only moral support." Fighting in Vietnam may be okay for Americans, Australians and South Koreans, but Japan has tastier fish to fry, such as increasing trade with mainland China.

Ever since Ruth Benedict wrote *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* in World War II, Americans have been trying and failing to understand Japan. The latest failure, in February, was a Pentagon plan to turn Japan into a rearmed cornerstone of a Northeast Asia Treaty Organization. This NEATO was also to embrace Taiwan and South Korea, and was to assist the US in containing China militarily. The British blocked it, but even if they hadn't the Japanese never would buy it. For it runs counter to everything that Japan has been striving to achieve for more than 15 years. Even before the American occupation ended, the Japanese had made up their minds what they wanted – to regain, without strong military forces, a major role in Asia. In the upshot, Japan has managed to turn every apparent handicap into an advantage. Minuscule "self-defense forces" have meant that that much more money is available for building up industries. Having to pay reparations has actually helped Japan recover foreign markets. And the appearance of being in tow to the United States has not prevented Japan from becoming China's senior trading partner, topping Soviet Russia. At the same time, the Japanese also trade with Taiwan, and each year sell almost $2 billion worth of goods to the USA.

All this has involved frequent adoption of what Japanese call "low posture," not only toward the US, Russia and China but to the Philippines and even South Korea. But Japan's "low posture" should fool no one. It is one way of acknowledging a basic fact that seems to elude Americans; namely, that all of Asia including China is engaged in a series of delicate balancing acts. Thus, for instance, the roaringly prosperous British colony of Hong Kong lies quite helpless in the palm of China's hand, but China doesn't close its fist on it, not because it is afraid of the American and British warships in Hong Kong bay but because Hong Kong pays Communist China handsome foreign currency dividends. Highly aware that many such unwritten compacts and unspoken truces characterize the Asian scene despite a superficial appearance of looming violence, Japan walks its own tightrope between Taiwan and Communist China, the US and China, and Indonesia and Malaysia.

Agility has paid off. Thirty-five years ago, Japan got into her war with China, which finally led her into war with the US and Britain, mainly because there seemed no hope for 63 million Japanese to make a living in their crowded home islands. Now, with no overseas empire and a slightly smaller home area (Russia seized the Kurile and some other northern islands from Japan), 100 million Japanese live well, and do

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better each year. In spite of the talk about recession, which the Sato government proposes to eliminate by running Japan's first budget deficit in a long time, unemployment is only one percent of the labor force compared with four percent in the US. Japan has become the world's biggest shipbuilder and textile producer and the third largest producer of steel. The country has long had universal literacy; today Japan has a higher percentage of high-school and college students than does Britain. There are more television sets here than in any other country save the US. The giant city of Tokyo, population 10.8 million, boils with new expressways, and busily plans new 30- and 40-story buildings. Formerly tall buildings were forbidden, partly from fear of earthquakes, partly because it was *lèse majesté* to overlook the moat-girt Imperial Palace. Now the Japanese Imperial Family benignly permits the Palace to be ringed by luxury hotels and apartments that peer down into its dwarf-pine planted grounds. "And earthquakes?" I asked my Japanese host as we surveyed the city's fluid skyline from the roof restaurant of the latest luxury hotel. "Our new building methods defy earthquakes," he replied confidently. "We have abolished earthquakes."

And ideologies also, apparently. This year, Japan will sell about $250 million worth of goods to Communist China, rather more to Hong Kong, about $150 million worth to Taiwan. Japan's trade with mainland China is rising by about 15 percent annually and is expected to increase to at least double what it is now. This would still be only five percent or so of Japan's total trade, and would not compare with the 30-percent share of its total trade that lies with the US. But Japan also hopes to increase its trade with Russia, perhaps by helping develop eastern Siberia and by buying large amounts of Soviet oil; and Moscow has agreed to let Japan Airlines fly through Russia to Europe, which means Japan will be the first country in the world with an airline able to pick up passengers in Moscow, Paris, London, New York and San Francisco on a single global flight.

Economic Recovery

The reparations Japan paid the Philippines greatly aided Japan's trade with that country. The US waived reparations, but Japan's trade with America has soared anyway, from a meager $50 million total in 1947 to over $4 billion. South Korea demanded $2 billion reparations from Japan but finally settled for $800 million under a "normalization" treaty recently concluded between the two countries, that has once more opened the Korean door to Japanese trade and investment in this former Japanese colony. If normal diplomatic relations were restored between mainland China and Japan, Peking might demand as much as $56 billion reparations for damage and 10 million Chinese casualties in the 14-year Sino-Japanese war. This possible claim does not make Japan flinch. It is coolly calculated that scaled-down reparations, as in the case of South Korea, might provide a further fillip to expanded trade with China, which wants to buy industrial plants from Japan but needs long-term credit.

The man who saw that economic recovery was the key to Japan's resurgence was Shigeru Yoshida, the first of Japan's six successive conservative prime ministers since restoration of sovereignty in 1952 until now. Yoshida insisted, as he said in a letter to John Foster Dulles on December 24, 1951, on "a full measure of political peace and commercial intercourse with China, which is Japan's close neighbor." Even before a truce was signed in Korea, the Japanese Diet, in June 1953, unanimously voted for trade with Communist China. Peking and Tokyo exchanged trade missions, though Tokyo accorded diplomatic recognition to Taiwan and not to mainland China. However, Japan's recognition of Taiwan is carefully defined as applying only to "the territories which are or may hereafter be under" the control of the Chiang Kai-shek government. Peeved by this and by Japan's increasing trade with the Communists, the Nationalist Chinese in 1963 officially cut off trade with Japan, but this was only another of Asia's deceptive ploys. Just as the Chinese Communists shell the offshore islands by day (taking care not to hit anything) and trade with them by night, so despite the official cut-off, Taiwan's trade with Japan has risen. Taiwan depends on Japan as a market for a third of its exports. Communist China purchases account for 30 percent of Japanese sales of chemical fertilizer, and China is also an important market for Japanese steel and textiles. Japan regards mainland China's demand for Japanese clothing and shoes as virtually unlimited and has sold China one synthetic textile plant, with more probably coming. From China, Japan hopes to get increasing quantities of coal and iron as well as farm products like soy beans. Communist Chinese newspapermen work in Japan, and Japanese correspondents in China. In any month, as many as eight Japanese delegations will be visiting Peking, not only Socialist politicians and labor union officials but also members of Japan's ruling conservative party, the Liberal Democrats, and representatives of large Japanese companies.

The Japanese don't think it likely that Chiang Kai-shek or some successor will invade mainland China, or that the Chinese army of 2,250,000 men will rebel against the party. They believe China currently has what is probably the stablest government in Asia and that Communism is just the means the Chinese have adopted to create a strong nation. The Communists,

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say the Japanese, have been helped by three countries. First, Japan, which roused China from a long sleep by trying to conquer it. Second, America, by threatening to encircle China the way the Japanese remember being threatened with encirclement by the United States, Great Britain, China and Holland, before Pearl Harbor. And now Russia, which since 1958 has forced China to go it alone.

Japan dismisses the Chinese Communist leaders' talk of fomenting world revolution as their way of keeping up their spirits in discouraging circumstances. Abroad, China has had severe setbacks, in Indonesia, Africa, even Cuba. At home, the Chinese economy has barely recovered from the Great Leap Forward which was really a Great Slide Backward. China is now inching ahead again, but with just enough momentum to take care of the annual population increase of 14 million. It will take China another generation or two to modernize itself the way Japan has done, probably ample time for China's leaders to be replaced by mellower (and younger) men. The speeches about fomenting world revolution, if read with due appreciation of the Marxist vocabulary, can be interpreted as warnings to foreign comrades that China will be busy for the next 30 years with domestic problems and therefore each country must get on with its own revolution with little material help from Peking. This Japanese view of China's situation, incidentally, is fully shared by American and other Sinologists, official and unofficial, who occupy the West's crow's nest in Hong Kong and spend their lives China-watching.

True, China is making strenuous efforts to develop nuclear weapons as well as fertilizer and petroleum. But men like Foreign Minister Shiina, a tough old bureaucrat who once helped run Japanese-conquered Manchuria, are fond of comparing China to a harvest moon. It only looks swollen and yellow and larger than life. Shiina and other knowledgeable Japanese don't think China's present disproportionate concentration of meager Chinese resources, including skilled workers and scientists, on atomic bombs and petroleum refineries is an index of Chinese strength. It seems to them that Americans greatly exaggerate and overdramatize China's aiding and abetting of Asian Communist movements like the Viet Cong and Pathet Lao, which the Japanese think are mainly home-grown Communist movements rather than Chinese-fabricated tools of expansionism. As the Japanese see it, America did its best to strangle Communist China at birth by economic embargo, then took courage from the split between Moscow and Peking to launch a hard-nose military drive in Vietnam whose real aim is to "contain" China. At least one conservative Japanese Dietman, Liberal Democrat Utsonomiya, says the US should drop its support of the Saigon military and back South Vietnamese civilians willing to negotiate with the Viet Cong.

NEXT WEEK: *Putting the bite on the Philippines for help in Vietnam—a report from Manila*

The Japanese are scared of getting involved in Vietnam through the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty, which Shigeru Yoshida signed as the easiest way to end the seven-year American occupation of Japan. The treaty was the price Dulles and the US Senate asked for that. It was amended in 1960 and, if either party wishes, can be revised again, or abrogated, in 1970. Under it, the US has military bases in Japan but must consult Japan before its forces stationed there take military action. There are about 38,000 American servicemen in Japan, mainly airmen, and some have their families with them. But the security treaty doesn't cover the much stronger American forces in Okinawa, an island southwest of Japan proper, where Japan has only "residual sovereignty" and where there is an American "High Commissioner." The US doesn't have to consult Japan about using Okinawa and if it wants to use the American forces in Japan for the war in Vietnam; all it has to do is to have them make a stopover in Okinawa. Thus the bases in Japan as well as in Okinawa can be used for the Vietnam war, and have been. Many American military regard Japan as useful primarily for the purpose of parking planes and servicing warships.

Japan's own military forces total 246,000 lightly armed men. Any Japanese soldier who feels like quitting can do so almost any time. Defense is the responsibility of a "self-defense agency" which lacks full cabinet rank and has had 22 different directors in 15 years, suggesting that defense in Japan is in the same category of public indifference or disfavor as foreign aid in the US. Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution says "land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained." General MacArthur, who virtually dictated this clause, changed his mind about keeping Japan disarmed, and there have been innumerable American hints that Article 9 ought to go. But many, probably most, Japanese cling stub-

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bornly to their "antiwar Constitution" and think the "self-defense forces" are a disgraceful violation of it. The Japanese Socialists for instance would, they say, abolish them completely.

The conservatives, who have been in power continuously since the occupation, tell Americans they want to strengthen the self-defense forces but nevertheless keep defense spending to a minimum. Japan spends only a little more than one percent of its $70 billion gross national product on defense, compared with India's 4.7 percent of its $40 billion GNP, and Australia's 3.4 percent of its $20 billion GNP. The thrifty Japanese save an astounding 20 percent of their incomes, but are extremely loath to pay for military forces, having bitter memories of harsh conscription in the thirties and forties, when General Tojo turned one Japanese in five into cannon-fodder.

Understandably, the Japanese hate the thought of atomic bombs, yet might prefer acquiring nuclear weapons to beefing up their conventional forces, if they believed China might threaten them with its bombs. In the atomic age, if you are going to arm at all, you might as well go all the way. Japan has reactors that produce plutonium and could begin to be a nuclear power in a couple of years; Japanese cities will soon have Nike-Hercules surface-to-air missiles to defend them, and those missiles can be fitted with nuclear warheads. But Japan suspects China's bombs are only status symbols, and Prime Minister Sato says Japan "has no intention of possessing any nuclear arms." Instead, Japan would prefer an anti-proliferation treaty, accompanied, however, by guaranteed protection to nonnuclear powers. This suggests some kind of joint US-Soviet nuclear "umbrella" such as has already been proposed for India.

The Socialists' Proposals

A full-scale war between the US and China would split Japan down the middle. It would seriously divide the Liberal Democrats, who have not quite two-thirds of the seats in the Diet. The Socialists are already split, into a large left-wing divided about evenly between a pro-Moscow and a pro-Peking faction, and a smaller pro-West right wing. The Japanese Communists are pro-Peking but though they claim to have over a million-and-a-half supporters, they have only four seats in the lower and three in the upper chamber of the Diet. The Socialists who want to scrap the self-defense forces also would like to abrogate the US-Japan Security Treaty and force the American military out of Japan proper and also off Okinawa. These sweeping proposals win the Socialists some mild applause, but they don't produce sufficient votes to promise a Socialist victory over the Liberal Democrats in the near future. The Socialists derive their main support from the *Sohyo* trade unions, and the chairman of *Sohyo* – Kaoru Ohta – told me he was pinning his hopes to people's disgust over the rising cost of living rather than the Security Treaty.

The cost of living has risen by about 26 percent in five years, wages have more than kept pace (recently it's profits that have lagged), and most Japanese seem to find life pretty good despite the current recession. There is, however, widespread cynicism about politics, conservative or socialist. Politicians are suspected of nepotism and other forms of corruption. Accordingly, a mounting protest vote has gone in recent elections to a new, third party, the *Komeito* or Clean Government Party, which promises to end not only political corruption but air and water pollution too. *Komeito* is the political arm of the Buddhist *Sokagakkai* or Value Creating Society. In 1962, all of its nine candidates won seats in the upper chamber of the Diet; in 1963, almost all its 971 local candidates won seats; and in 1965 *Komeito* won 11 more seats in the upper house, giving it 20, while simultaneously all 23 *Komeito* candidates were elected to the Tokyo city council.

Komeito proposes a mild form of "humanitarian socialism" – *Komeito's* secretary-general, Hiroshi Hojo, defined it for me as "a Buddhist version of Christian Democratic socialism" – and *Komeito* claims to have become the third largest party in Japan, after the Liberal Democrats and left-wing Socialists. Internationally, *Komeito* doesn't seem to be against anyone. It says it wants to "erase" the US-Japan Security Treaty, but apparently wouldn't move to abrogate it in 1970. It claims to be a "bulwark against Communism" in Japan, but says Taiwan is a "Chinese domestic problem," *i.e.*, that it should go to mainland China. Most people suspect that if *Komeito* ever holds the balance of political power it will side at least as often with the Liberal Democrats as with the Socialists.

The Socialists admit that they don't really hope to come to power until "two or three more elections." Thus, the political future in Japan looks very much like being more of the same; government by conservatives who are flexible enough to be able to produce full employment and other economic miracles at home, while actively pursuing peace and trade with Communist China, Nationalist China, the US and Soviet Russia. This picture could change dramatically if the US and China went to war. Then, the US-Japan Security Treaty would at once become a burning, bitter issue. According to Shigeharu Matsumoto, chairman of the board of directors of International House of Japan and one of Japan's leading political thinkers, such a conflict, "no matter by whom it appeared to be provoked, would have a catastrophic impact on Japan's stability. It might even bring about civil war."

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The Mastery of Miss Warner

by John Updike

The stories of Sylvia Townsend Warner stick up from *The New Yorker's* fluent fiction-stream with a certain stony air of mastery. They are granular and adamant and irregular in shape. The prose has a much-worked yet abrasive texture of minute juxtaposition and compounded accuracies. Candles are lit in an antique shop, and "The polished surfaces reflected the little flames with an intensification of their various colors – amber in satinwood, audit ale in mahogany, dragon's blood in tortoise shell." Two old ladies reminisce: "They talked untiringly about their girlhood – about the winters when they went skating, the summers when they went boating, the period when they were so very pious, the period when they were pious no longer and sent a valentine to the curate: the curate blushed, a crack rang out like a pistol shot and Hector Gillespie went through the ice, the fox terriers fought under old Mrs. Bulliver's chair, the laundry ruined the blue voile, the dentist cut his throat in Century Wood, Claude Hopkins came back from Cambridge with a motorcar and drove it at thirty miles an hour with flames shooting out behind, Addie Carew was married with a wasp under her veil." How particular, yet how inclusive and shapely in this catalogue! Though Miss Warner can be trivial in her effects and vague in her intentions, she rarely lacks concreteness. On every page there is something to be seen or smelled or felt.

Swans on an Autumn River
by Sylvia Townsend Warner
(Viking; $4.50)

In *Repetition*, Kierkegaard, who had considerable fabling powers, interrupted his narrative to write: "If I were to pursue in detail the moods of the young man as I learned to know them, not to speak of including in a poetical manner a multitude of irrelevant matters – saloons, wearing apparel, beautiful scenery, relatives and friends – this story might be drawn out to yard lengths. That, however, I have no inclination to do. I eat lettuce, it is true, but I eat only the heart; the leaves, in my opinion, are fit for swine." Contrariwise, Miss Warner's appetite for the leaves of circumstance is excellent. One story in this collection ("An Act of Reparation") is basically a recipe for oxtail stew; several others ("Happiness," "The View of Rome") are like architectural drawings of houses with people sketched in for scale. The furniture in her fiction is always vivacious and in her stories about Mr. Edom's antique-shop, not included in this collection, *objets* dominate. The grit of factuality scintillates for her, and she inhales the world's rank melancholy as if it were ambrosial perfume. Churches especially arouse her olfactory relish:

> "Candles were burning, some before this image, some before that. They gave a sort of top-dressing of warmth to the building, but basically it was as cold as river mud, and under a glazing of incense it smelt of poverty."

In another church, the preserved corpse of a local saint is wonderingly detailed:

> "What extraordinary gloves – so thin that the nails, long and rather dirty, showed through. . . . She looked at the face. It had blue glass eyes, to match the blue dress. One of them projected from the face, squeezed out by the shrivelling socket into which it had been fitted. It seemed to stare at her with alarm. The other eye was still in place, and placid."

The story containing this placid glass eye, "Fenella," and others such as "Healthy Landscape with Dormouse" and "Total Loss" pursue a steadily deepening drabness with a remorseless exhilaration. The septuagenarian Miss Warner's continued health as a writer of fiction is a testimonial to her iron diet. She has the spiritual digestion of a goat, and a ravenous eye for unpleasantness.

Between her firm particulars and the overbrooding Olympian forbearance of tone there is, sometimes, an unexpected vacuum. Her sense of form, of direction, is erratic, which is to say she has no prejudices about her material. Her endings are often weak – abrupt and enigmatic ("A Stranger with a Bag," "Their Quiet Lives"), sentimental ("Happiness"), crowded and vague ("Johnnie Brewer"). Here, where an author normally gathers his matter to a point in a final phrase or word, a dominant that will reverberate backward through the fabric of imagery, Miss Warner wanders off in the middle of the measure, or goes on a measure too long, or comes down hard on a note so wrong we doubt our ears. As I read these bound stories I had the impression that some were better when I first read them in *The New Yorker*. A little research proved it to be so.

"The View of Rome" is a generally charming story about an old engraver recovering from a nearly fatal illness. He is very anxious to return to his home and to secure early release from the hospital, pretends that his cat, Hattie, is a stepniece coming from the Isle of Wight to nurse him. Though rather lightweight, the story gathers substance from the many sharp small touches ("The clock, with its light hopping gait, like a robin's, ticked on"), the persuasive limning of a gentle old bachelor (Miss Warner makes herself quite at home in male minds), and its articulation of a kind of joy, the joy of domestic possession, not often dramatized. I enjoyed rereading it until the last sentences, which went: "God is an Oriental potentate, unaffectedly lavish and sumptuous. He would not think it extravagant to heap up all these apples into a cenotaph for a Rural Dean. Here was no need for jam pots. They could

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stay in the attic." The apples, we know, are lying all about, and making jam of them has preoccupied the hero in the hospital, and we have been told of the Dean who died of a wasp sting incurred at a Harvest Festival. But those last two sentences, besides choppily cutting across the preceding grand strophes about God as an Oriental potentate, bring some unlooked-for words to the fore. Jam pots? Attic? The house's attic has not been previously mentioned, and abruptly occupies the position of a keystone. It is bewildering, and dulling. *The New Yorker* version, in place of these last two sentences, has: "There was no call for jam pots here." Surely this is better: "call" for "need," "here" for "attic," and the simpler phrasing permits the potentate-lavish-extravagant-cenotaph conceit to sound the conclusive chord in this wry fugue of mortality and gratitude.

Miss Warner thought well enough of "Swans on an Autumn River" to name her collection after it. It tells of Norman Repton, overweight and 69, attending a congress of sanitary engineers in Dublin. He has never been in Ireland, though when he was young it had represented romance to him. He sightsees confusedly, overeats in a restaurant, and, while feeding bread to some swans on a river and angrily fending off hungry seagulls, dies of a heart attack. Some women waiting for a bus and a *garda* directing traffic witness his death. The book version ends with the paragraph:

> "The *garda*, who had left his place amid the traffic, now came up to where Norman Repton lay motionless. After a momentary hesitation, as though he were hastily summoning up something he had learned, he knelt beside him. The women drew closer together, and one of them pulled her coat about her, as though she had suddenly become conscious of the cold. Presently the *garda* looked up. 'Will one of you ladies go across to the hotel,' he said, 'and ask them to telephone for the ambulance?' Two women detached themselves from the group and hurried across the road, arguing in whispers."

The New Yorker version is the same, until:

> "Presently, the *garda* got up from his knees. Looking gravely down at the figure on the pavement, he pulled off his cap and crossed himself. The action unloosed a flutter of hands, a murmur of sound, among those waiting for the bus, as though it had stirred a dovecote."

Now, this at least gives us a vivid image in which Ireland, an exotic Catholic land, and birds, whose aloof beauty and sordid hunger have lured the hero to his death, intersect. The ending Miss Warner has chosen to preserve in her book is totally centrifugal, a burst of irrelevancies. Of what significance is the mechanical request for an ambulance? Who are the two women who go to telephone, and what if they argue "in whispers"? Whispers have nothing to do with Norman Repton, and though neither ending is quite satisfactory, it is Miss Warner's that confirms our suspicion that this story is aimless. It is an insistently ugly story whose ugliness has not been shaped to any purpose. We do not know enough

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about Repton to feel his terminal fight with the seagulls as anything more than the irritable fit of a choleric man. The editorial process that brought two endings into being is not at issue; either *The New Yorker* version is the original one, later revised, or it is a revision prompted by the magazine and finally discarded. In either case, Miss Warner has expressed her old-fashioned preference for events over gestures. The two women walking across the road to the telephone, however flat and irrelevantly social, like those rings of Hades where the sinners, frozen into eternal postures, must stare at each other. "A Stranger with a Bag" and "A Long Night" make the act of onlooking centrally dramatic; and the excellent "A Jump Ahead" ends with the narrator understanding what he has seen: his ex-wife preparing to die of leukemia.

The very best story in the book, and a masterpiece, is "A Love Match." It too is a story of witnessing: a brother and sister, Justin and Celia, live incestuously in a small English town and finally, killed by a stray bomb while in bed together, are discovered. The witnesses, the men who find their bodies, agree upon a fiction:

> "Then young Foe spoke out. 'He must have come in to comfort her. That's my opinion.' The others concurred."

This tale, with its congenial mixture of the Gothic and the pedestrian, excites her prose to a fine vividness:

> "The rescue workers . . . followed the trail of bricks and rubble upstairs and into a bedroom whose door slanted from its hinges. A cold air met them; looking up, they saw the sky. The floor was deep in rubble; bits of broken masonry, clots of brickwork, stood up from it like rocks on a beach. A dark bulk crouched on the hearth, and was part of the chimney stack, and a torrent of slates had fallen on the bed, crushing the two bodies that lay there."

The first act of love, the initial violation of this most sacred taboo, is beautifully described and justified as an incident within, as an image. It is, as an event, more world-engaging and, as it were, negotiable. In an artistic age of credit manipulation, Miss Warner deals in quaintly hard cash.

Her stories tend to convince us in process and baffle us in conclusion; they are not rounded with meaning but lift jaggedly toward new, unseen, developments. "Healthy Landscape with Dormouse" presents with unblinking clairvoyance a miserably married and (therefore) unrepentantly mischievous young woman, Belinda. The story's locale is Belinda's consciousness, but instead of ending there the story leaps out of her head and concludes on a village street. Some suddenly introduced bus passengers have seen Belinda and her husband fight and jump into a car: "They ran to the car, leaped in, drove away. Several quick-witted voices exclaimed, 'Take the number! Take the number!' But the car went so fast, there wasn't time." It suggests a Mack Sennett comedy; it suggests furthermore an almost compulsive need, in Miss Warner's work, for witnesses. Her world is thoroughly the horror and fatalism and hysteria of the First World War. Their quiet life and smoldering secret allegorize England between the wars. Framed by monstrous cataclysms, the diffident gallantry and fuddling ordinariness of the nation, personified by an incestuous couple, are seen as somehow monstrous – the cozy sibling idyll of Victorian mythology gone mad. The historical context is indicated; twenty years of truce pass in terms of private social strategies and public social movements. Justin arranges the dusty items of a dead eccentric's military collection; Celia interests herself in the poor, in Communism. They make a few friends and sometimes attend church.

> "There was a nice, stuffy pitch-pine St. Cuthbert's near by, and at judicious intervals they went there for evensong – thereby renewing another bond of childhood: the pleasure of hurrying home on a cold evening to eat baked potatoes hot from the oven."

The odors and occupations of *interbella* England, evoking Miss Warner's full vocabulary of flowers and foods and architectures, are suffused with the blameless decadence of the central situation. The story moves with unforced symbolism to the level of epic statement. Incest is civilization's ultimate recourse:

> "Loving each other criminally and sincerely, they took pains to live together happily and to safeguard their happiness from injuries of their own inflation or from outside."

Of course, no touch of implied condemnation, or of undue compassion, intrudes upon the perfect sympathy with which this scandalous marriage is chronicled. Miss Warner's genius is an uncannily equable openness to human data, and beneath her refined witchery lies a strange freshness one can only call, in praise, primitive.

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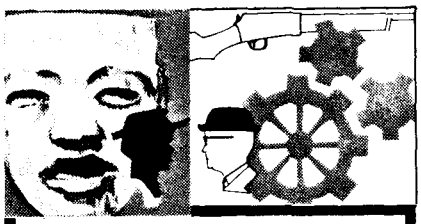

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Man's Inhumanity

by Christopher Sykes

This is an absorbing and profoundly depressing book. Its subject is the proud tower of European civilization which seemed to have reached a final climax in the years of the last generation before the First World War. Barbara Tuchman describes this gorgeous edifice and its foundations of pride, cruelty, ingenuity, virtue, injustice, and especially its appetite for struggle and

The Proud Tower
by Barbara W. Tuchman
(Macmillan; $7.95)

aggression. Her book argues cogently that this was the real flaw. The German warlords were very characteristic of their time. There is no need to excuse them or declare them innocent of war-guilt. All that can be said in their favor is that national leadership everywhere contained men who were equally irresponsible, combative, and short-sighted, and in consequence, with or without the Prussian and Austrian military parties, a world war was bound to break out somewhere sometime around the fatal year 1914. The fault lay in humanity, a race of beings infinitely more warlike and destructive than any ape, or indeed any other creature outside the world of ants. These reflections are forced on one by the book and are the reason that it is depressing to read.

This statement needs qualification, however. To read a first-rate book is always an exhilarating experience, even when the subject matter invites despair. This book is first rate. It leaves the reviewer with little to do except to praise it. But let me first see what, if anything, can be said in dispraise.

The title is excellent if one does not know where it comes from. It is taken from what must be the worst two lines to which Edgar Allen Poe descended. Such a book as this deserved something very much better. On what might be called pre-Lloyd George England, Barbara Tuchman sometimes falters: her first chapter is called "The Patricians" and describes aristocratic English life in its final heyday from 1895 to 1902. The picture is essentially true but is a little overdrawn. For one thing the sheer boredom of the life beneath the top glamor is hardly indicated, and its social structure somewhat misrepresented. The English nobility and gentry is shown to us in terms which suggest Continental aristocracy rather than the British product. The author should have laid more stress on the fact that British gentry is and always was a caste, but a very easy one to join for a man of talent or wealth, or preferably both. Lloyd George could have entered it with great ease, had he wished to. Bernard Shaw did so openly, H. G. Wells somewhat secretively.

In a later chapter on England, "The Transfer of Power," Barbara Tuchman is again not quite at home with the personalities. Of Asquith she says, "He dominated by intellect but he did not excite or stir reaction. The public could never form a picture or pin a label on him and he remains for history a man without a face." Untrue. His memory may be dim today, but in his time he was loved and hated, and his appearance was the joy of contemporary cartoonists. Shaw wrote one of his most biting pieces of political satire about him in "Back to Methuselah." He had a notable face.

These are not great blemishes on a work of wide scholarship and vigorous writing; they are specks.

The orginality of the approach and of the book's structure is remarkable and entirely successful. Great Britain is covered by the two chapters mentioned above, which occur as the first and the seventh. A second chapter looks at the social war at its most extreme, the activity of the anarchists from 1890 to 1914. It is entitled "The Idea and the Dead." In the third chapter the author traces the rise of pugnacious nationalism and expansion in the United States from 1890 to 1902: "The End of a Dream." When American policy turned to aggression and conquest, when, on Kipling's advice, Americans "took up the White Man's burden," then it did seem to millions of people as though "God was dead." It was the misfortune

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of America in the 19th Century to be the remote object of wishful belief, the authentic paradise, Eldorado in fact. Dostoevsky caught this European dream to perfection when in *Crime and Punishment* the suicide, in answer to the policeman's cry, "What are you doing?", replies before blowing out his brains, "I'm going to America." When events showed that Americans were also liable to original sin and had the same pugnacious instincts as other people, other people were shocked. This was unfair, especially as the impetus to aggression was probably more opposed in the United States than anywhere else.

France has two chapters. The first entitled "Give me Combat" is a brilliant account of the Dreyfus affair in which the author shows, although straining facts to suit her theme, that the driving force behind that horrible outbreak of mass hysteria was that love of conflict which sustained and destroyed the tower. Barbara Tuchman might have taken her argument even further. Dreyfus' refusal to dedicate his life to a political career of revenge struck many of his supporters, especially Clemenceau, as cold-blooded and contemptible. The Tiger was even reported to have regretted, in a moment of rage, that he had not gone with the other side! The second chapter on France is the last in the book. It describes the internecine warfare of European socialism, a self-defeat which suited the time.

"The Steady Drummer" is the apt and sinister title of the fifth chapter which traces the effort, more successful than the diplomats of the world hoped or expected, to establish an International Court at The Hague which would remove the possibility of war. There was more wish for peace in the world than the leaders knew, and the result was that an International Court was founded and still exists. This was the age of Alfred Nobel, a confused idealist if ever there was one. He also pinned faith to arbitration and he also was surprised at the degree of his success. It is unnecessary to point out that the major purpose met total failure. The steady drummer was not silenced.

Widely separated as the subjects are, they are held together by the author's firm grasp. The highlight of the book

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is the sixth and most original chapter, "Neroism in the Air," a study of Germany from 1890 to 1914. Here Barbara Tuchman will take many readers by surprise. The main figure in this magnificent portrait of the post-Bismarck Empire is the composer Richard Strauss, and in her intricate and far-ranging picture she conveys that the world that flung itself into the suicide of world war was suffering from a form of decadence that might be described as giantism. It was as though a controlling gland was not in working order: virtuosity flourished as the jungle; expansion persisted, increased in speed, wallowed in its excess. To look at this exaggeration of the lingering 19th-Century belief in the inevitable beneficence of progress, from the standpoint of the art of her period, and from that point to see into its essential character in other fields, is a literary feat of the most rare kind. With only a little less knowledge and assurance the attempt could possibly have failed. As it is, it abundantly succeeds.

This chapter also leaves a distressing aftertaste. Agreed that the kind of strident military nationalism of 1890-1914 is not in fashion today, it remains true that a great many of the governing ideas of that period do remain with us as central objects of faith. Of these the most immovable, and perhaps the most dangerous is what might be called "The Swine's Faith in the desirability of excursions on the Gadarene slopes."

If there is no World War III then this book may be forgotten or perhaps ridiculed as an essay in pessimism. But if there is one, then it may be republished, if such a thing as publishing survives the business, as a warning against the fallacies that we cling to and which destroy us. I hope, in spite of my respect for Barbara Tuchman, that the book comes to be thought of as irrelevant, but no one can be sure what to expect of man's pugnacity. Original sin is one ancient doctrine which has not so far been disproved.

Minutes from Armageddon

by Jeremy J. Stone

First of all, it turns out that Elie Abel's *Missile Crisis* is a fascinating rewrite of *Dr. Strangelove*. How else can you explain: Ambassador David Bruce getting instructions to show up at an airport "alone and armed" to get some of the U-2 photos Acheson was taking to de Gaulle; de Gaulle showing more excitement at their technical quality than at the crisis itself; the Soviet ambassador in Washington completely in the dark about the missiles and "absolutely certain" that the foreign minister was too; the President startled to discover that he still had missiles in Turkey – he distinctly remembered having given instructions to remove them; the Soviet espionage agent Fomin asking the reporter Scali whether Scali's reply to Khrushchev's offer came from the "highest" sources; and Ambassador Dobrynin again, now in high spirits, marching up and down Bobby Kennedy's office reenacting an old scene in Khrushchev's. This stuff isn't stranger than fiction; it's satire.

The Missile Crisis
by Elie Abel
(Lippincott: $4.95)

But this book has a story to tell about the future. The more we learn about the crisis the more frightened we get, not for what happened but for how. Abel says, "How close we came to Armageddon, I did not fully realize until I started researching this book," but he may miss the real point. This recitation may or may not describe a very close call, but it describes several we are going to have. It discloses how substantially our processes for decision are wanting: it discloses characteristics of the human and governmental condition that are more likely to lead to nuclear war than any particular Khrushchevian blunder. And as Schlesinger has paraphrased President Kennedy's conclusion: "The government could hardly have performed better."

There is first and foremost the willingness to risk all on the basis of arguments uncontaminated by serious and sustained criticism. In this, the participants convict themselves by their own testimony. They were unanimous in assessing the risks they were running as enormous. Here is Ambassador Thompson telling his wife that he would let her know where to go if the capital were evacuated; McNamara wondering how many more sunsets he was destined to see; Rusk telling Ball early one morning in the midst of the crisis that it was a considerable victory that "you and I are still alive." These responsible persons were a good deal vaguer about the dangers posed by the Soviet missiles. The Secretary of Defense counsels that the missiles in Cuba had little to do with the strategic balance, but he becomes persuaded that important political questions are at issue. Meanwhile the Secretary of State talks as if the military security of the country literally were at stake. He says about the airstrikes, "If we don't do this, we go down with a whimper. Maybe it's better to go down with a bang." Nowhere does anyone seem to discuss at length exactly in what way the national interest would be so severely damaged as to justify running the risks that all conceded their response would run.

Perhaps thoughts of "do nothing" strategies were quietly suppressed by signals from a President who – leadership demanding what it does – hardly could wait to reflect upon the dangers of as yet undrafted alternatives before choosing between the two postures available to him: "It doesn't matter," and "We won't stand for it." For whatever reason, there is a striking disproportion between our high appraisal of the dangers of dramatic response and our feeble efforts to analyze their necessity. For all practical purposes, our de-

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liberations seem to have treated the introduction of missiles in Cuba as if they were self-evidently part of an ultimate and decisive show of force. This is the standard exaggeration from which the most serious conflicts arise.

Men simply do not have the capacity to gauge the forces at work in the world. The crisis opens with virtually universal agreement that the Soviets will not put missiles in Cuba – because they never put them in any other satellite country; it ends with our very real amazement at having won. In between, people say things in explication of their policies like: "I know the Soviets pretty well, I think they'll knock out our missile bases in Turkey . . . we'd then be obligated to knock out a base inside the Soviet Union . . . then we hope everyone will cool down and want to talk." And while other participants appreciate the insanity of this sort of thing, they have no real substitute for it. The story is all too human. The level of disorganized reasoning and response, which even Kennedy's Executive Committee showed, seems to make it a matter of time before, in another crisis, two groups of such men assume – not decide, but simply collectively *assume* – that the interests then at stake are so vital that the struggle must be won at any cost. Governments, as a bureaucratic whole, seem every bit as inclined to reach this pompous conclusion as any sensation-seeking journalist.

Abel evidently drew on a wide range of acquaintances in Washington because almost everyone gets that little protective phrase which is a journalist's reward for an hour of interviewing. Keating was "almost certainly justified"; Rusk "felt it was important to reserve his own position"; of Sylvester's misleading press statements, "it was hard to see how he could have done otherwise"; and so on. But on a fundamental disagreement on the military implications of the Soviet action, Abel clearly takes the side of Paul Nitze rather than McNamara; Nitze thought that the missiles might so threaten SAC bombers in the southwestern United States as to shift the existing strategic balance.

It does not seem to have crossed the minds of any of the participants that the missiles could have been, in part,

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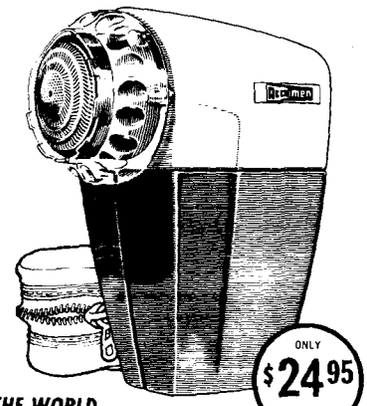

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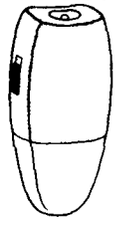

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defensive Soviet reactions to *our* plans to make shifts in the *future* strategic balance. October, 1962, was the very month in which our first really usable ICBM's – the Minuteman – were being deployed, and our intention to build one a day for about three years(!) was well advertised. The Soviet inability to build even inferior ICBM's at more than about one a week presented it with strategic risks that would have left true counterparts of our own strategists hysterical with concern. If, indeed, a major Soviet motivation was to match US Minutemen with shorter-range missiles in Cuba, then our own failure to revise US missile procurement plans downward, as fast as we revised our estimate of the missile gap, was in part responsible for the crisis. It is instructive to reflect upon the possibility that the leadership of *both* sides were motivated by fears of an intolerable shift in the strategic balance.

That these and similar explanations have been given about as much consideration as heresy by the faithful; that Soviet specialists should be commonly referred to as "demonologists"; and, in particular, that their speculations should have been accorded the deference that Abel describes – all reflect an unfortunate analogy between the controversies of religion and the analysis of Soviet foreign policy. Abel says that Llewellyn Thompson won everyone's respect "by his astonishing readiness to produce at any hour of the day or night, a shrewd guess as to Khrushchev's likely response." The book unintentionally shows how shamelessly vulnerable was our leadership to the informed guesses of those who had read the forbidden books and seen the infidel in his natural habitat. It has to be said again: in the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. Fortunately, our best Soviet experts are, politically, as sophisticated and cautious as our presiding generals are naïve and bold.

Sorensen, Schlesinger, and now Abel – who adds significantly to their disclosures – are giving our citizens an eyeful of the way in which governments by the people work. What our highest public servants willed, dared, and feared, when the chips were down, now flows beyond the Washington Cocktail Circuit to Kansas City and Oshkosh. All can learn what, before, all who mattered knew. It's a good thing. Kennedy's generation teethed on how England slept. Another generation will learn how America reacted. The experiences we have with cataclysmic crises are too important to be wasted on those who may never face another.

Marshall McLUHAN

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Health Scandal, USA

by Michael Alderman

"Scandal," says Mr. Tunley, is the word to describe the state of American health. The word is harsh. So are the facts. The avoidable death of thousands of babies, the hobbling blight of needless mental retardation, the callous disregard for the aged, and the personal degradation that characterizes much of our medical services, combine to sustain a compelling tale of grim reality.

The American Health Scandal
by Roul Tunley
(Harper & Row; $4.95)

Influenced by housing, sanitation, and nutrition, as well as medical care, the rate at which babies die in the first year of life is one objective reflection of the values a nation places on human life. America, blessed with knowledge, manpower, technical capacity, and wealth that outstrip every other nation, tolerates the death of infants at a rate greater than 10 other Western countries, including poverty-stricken Ireland. An American baby stands almost twice as great a chance of not reaching his first birthday as does his Swedish counterpart. And if that baby happens to be Negro, his chances of an infant demise are three times that of the Swede. Lest we think this absence of pigment is the magic factor, the infant mortality rate of white Americans is still greater than that of six other countries. The AMA is quick to point out that there is only a one-percent difference between the rate of Sweden and the US. But that statistic represents 40,000 dead babies every year. We cannot even take comfort in the hope that, in this best of all possible countries, things are getting better. In New York City, hardly a neglected backwater of American medicine, the infant mortality rate has been going up steadily since 1952 and is now 10 percent higher than it was then. A scandal?

This human waste and sorrow has led Mr. Tunley to wonder whether the nature of national health-care systems themselves might explain the differences. As even the casual observer knows, such questions are usually approached through a welter of descriptive phrases: "free enterprise," "socialized medicine," and "destroy the sanctity of the doctor-patient relationship." He describes our system as it is, including some of its off-beat and visionary nooks and crannies. Notable among the latter is the prepaid, comprehensive group-health programs, so successful and popular in the Far West, but virtually unknown east of the Rockies. Most

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GEORGE F. KENNAN'S HISTORIC DISSENT ON ESCALATION OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The special 12-page reprint of George F. Kennan's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is available from *The New Republic* reprint service . . .

The reprint contains Mr. Kennan's formal statement, *plus* his answers to questions from the members of Senator Fulbright's committee.

of this material, albeit well presented, is already rather old hat and more completely documented elsewhere.

The unique contribution of this book lies in its lucid, brief account of medical-care organization in five other countries. Using examples (Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, Germany, and Yugoslavia) which represent a spectrum of health-care systems, the point is made that a number of alternative methods have been found successful. For example, voluntary insurance, which 75 percent of Americans have, pays only 30 percent of their medical bills, while virtually every other developed nation having tried this approach has discarded it as a mechanism for underwriting basic health costs. Since we like to think of ourselves as progressive and imaginative, it is disconcerting to read that Bismarck led Germany into a compulsory health-insurance system in 1883. Many American states have compulsory automobile insurance, but none make health insurance mandatory.

It ought to be reassuring to learn that regardless of the method of payment – either direct state salary (socialized medicine) as in England, or fee-for-service with compulsory insurance covering a fixed amount of the fee determined freely by the physician, as in Sweden – doctors and patients are completely free to choose whom they please. Mr. Tunley speculates, reasonably I think, whether the physical act of pressing dollar bills into a physician's hand must be performed by the patient to assure the sanctity of their relationship.

America has been slow to manifest special concern for the health and welfare of those in its society least able to fend for themselves – the very young and very old. Europeans seem to have learned long ago that it is cheaper to invest in health than to pay the price of illness. The Social Security Amendments of 1965 provide the beginning of an attack on these problems. We don't find it incompatible with a free society to insist that all children obtain some learning. We make public education universally available and enforce certain standards *for private schooling*. Why do we resist a similar commitment to health – in spite of the fact that today 30 percent of our 18-year-old boys are physically or mentally unfit for military service, judged by criteria less rigorous than those of 1944?

Mr. Tunley has been guilty of making some errors of fact. Exaggerated infant mortality rates or draft rejection figures, while not distorting his case, will, no doubt, give aid and comfort to those who wish to discredit the major thrust of his work. The accurate figures are appalling enough.

My only serious quibble with this book, however, is a matter of emphasis. The author is frank to point out the persistence of health-care problems regardless of the adequacy of personal financing arrangements. I think he places too much faith in the efficacy of structural and financial changes to cure the ills of our system. While not belittling the importance of these considerations, the crisis of rising demand for even more sophisticated and scarce health services will require social innovation to bring the best we have to all our people.

Mr. Tunley points out that we do not have enough ophthalmologists to perform a simple eye test on the entire population to detect glaucoma, a preventable cause of blindness, even if we were willing to pay the price. The fact is, however, that we never will have enough ophthalmologists, nor will they be equitably distributed. But successful performance of a simple glaucoma test does not require the skill of a highly trained specialist, though that is who usually does it today.

The health-care team must be more than doctors and nurses. There must be a useful integration of allied professional and subprofessional groups, those that exist and others that we ought to invent. Tasks and responsibilities have to be redefined to assure the most efficient utilization of our resources.

Just as war is too important to be left to generals, health is too serious to be left exclusively to doctors. The organization and delivery of health services are legitimate public issues.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

John Updike's *newest novel is* Of The Farm. Christopher Sykes *is the author of* Four Studies in Loyalty. Jeremy Stone *is a Harvard graduate student.* Michael Alderman *is a Washington physician.*

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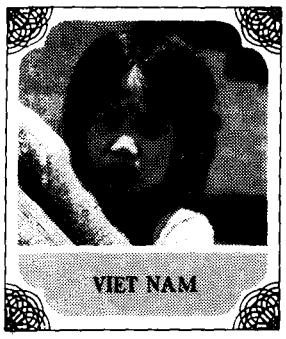
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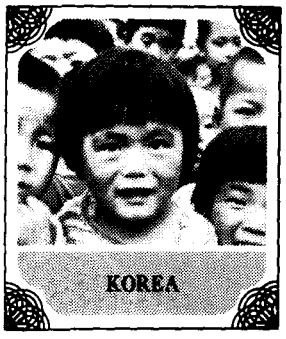
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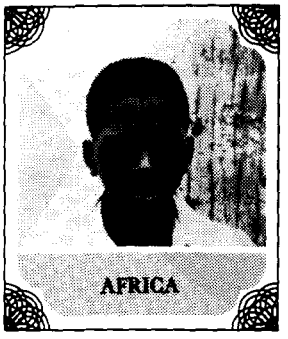
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ART

Reviving Edward Church

The National Collection of Fine Arts, the closest approach we have to a ministry of graphic arts, has performed a service in its current exhibition in Washington, D.C., of Frederic Edwin Church, the last of the Hudson River School of 19th-Century landscape painters.

As a dominant way of painting in America, the Hudson River School had a much longer run than anything before or since. It came into existence in 1825, when Thomas Cole, a New Yorker, moved up to Catskill to paint the spectacular scenery found there. It represented a fundamental change in American painting and a deeper change in America at large. For all the Revolution and the surviving anti-British feeling, the colonies and the early Republic were profoundly English, in art as well as politics.

The Hudson River School changed that. There are still in the attics of old rich houses and in the basements of old museums acres of canvas depicting the vistas of an American wilderness uncovered by the Hudson River men and brought to studio, academy, gallery and living room. It is part of conventional wisdom to deprecate their work. For one thing the painters of spectacular views did obscure artists of more merit, such as Eakins, Homer and Ryder. For another, quite a lot of that canvas acreage is very little else; life-size representations of the Grand Canyon gully by gully. Yet the deprecation is not entirely deserved. The Hudson River School did change national attitudes toward art even as it was accurately mirroring national attitudes toward the nation and its land. The reason all those canvases are cluttering up attic and basement is that people bought them, as they bought furniture and clothing. The Hudson River men also shifted the purpose of art from personal immortality in the portrait to a somewhat more detached pleasure in the landscape.

A basic objection to the School in our time has been just that: that the pleasure offered and taken was in the subject; and subject, in our day, has been a dirty word. It is alleged to get in the way of the art which is held to consist solely of composition, the artist's action in painting, and, more lately, the sheer size of the most simple motif and color scheme. It is possible, however, that current wisdom, derived from current practice, is really applicable only to that practice; that art created in another tradition or in another time may have valid criteria of its own; that among these may indeed be subject matter under some aspect or other.

Yet subject was far from dominating the work of the Hudson River painters, in the sense that they were simply after as good a representation as possible, prior to color photography. The Church show makes it clear how he worked up from representation toward a kind of romantic expressionism through nature. The Collection has gathered dozens of his sketches and studies. They are almost all apparently dead-on faithful details or scenes. The process for Church would seem to have been not only to record for his studio use the way the landscape looked, but even more importantly to fix the disposition into his mind, his eyes and his hands.

The early landscapes of the Connecticut or Hudson River countryside tend to be simple and straight on, with a nice but restrained feeling for the gentle glow of sunlight on rich fields or rolling hills. Presently, though, around the time of the Civil War – for which Church made one of the all-time best-sellers in art, a colored lithograph of Old Glory melting into a red streaked sky – he began rearranging things to suit himself. The switch is especially clear in two views of Cotopaxi, the celebrated volcano in Ecuador. The first, dating from the mid-fifties, strikes the eye as simply an accurate picture of a spectacular subject, the perfectly cone-shaped form dominating the scene, set against a high, clear sky with tropical foliage surrounding, in the foreground,

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a sunny clearing with a hacienda. Yes, that's what it must look like.

In the later painting of the same subject, allegedly done from the same vantage point, only the cone is recognizable as the same. Church has filled half the sky with smoke pouring from the cone and billowing toward the viewer. The texture of the jungle is brought up close enough for minuscule observation.

This combination of far and near, of spectacular terrain led up to from closely seen leaves and rocks, of every possible distance and a variety of atmospheric effects, became a Church formula. From the Andes he went to the Arctic and some of his most skillful effects are of the icebergs looming in silent seas; the report is that some of the extraordinary color effects were deliberately created by the simple expedient of shooting off flares at the ice and noting the colors. There are ice caves and flaming sunsets, volcanoes and craggy mountains, astounding vistas everywhere of nature at its most stupendous.

Partly this inflationary development is the natural growth of any movement consciously adhered to by artists: nobody yet ever tried to get smaller, more restrained and more modest than his predecessors in the same line of work. But partly, too, the change reflects a vast change in the American attitude toward its wilderness. When Thomas Cole went up to Catskill in 1825, the continent lay before us; part of his function was to inspire westering and to report back the marvels. By the end of the century, in a heavily industrializing nation, the wilderness had become a dream not of the future but of the past.

There never has been a satisfactory book on the artist. On March 15, however, George Braziller is bringing out *The Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church: Vision of an American Era*, by David C. Huntington ($12.50) which fills the need admirably. Many of the major pictures are reproduced in color and the black and whites include works for comparison by Cole, Bierstadt and others. Huntington argues convincingly that his man's obscurity is undeserved, but the main rewards of the text are the rediscovery of the details of a painter's life like a royal progress through a world made for his brush.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

The War Goes On

Sirs:

In the generally refreshing summary of the Vietnam war's origins in the February 12 issue ("So the War Goes On"), it is reported that the Geneva Agreements said, "North and South Vietnam ought to consult about ways and means of taking a vote on the issue of reunification, and this should be done July, 1956." There was, in fact, no issue of reunification. The accords provided that in July, 1956, elections were to be held throughout all Vietnam to name a unified national government. As you accurately noted, political or territorial division of the country was specifically barred, except as a temporary military truce measure. Both the Viet Minh and the "nationalist" representatives, designated by the French-imposed regime in Cochin-China, insisted that Vietnam be unified unconditionally. . . .

From your necessarily abbreviated summary, it might be inferred that the Agreements were initially violated in July, 1956, when the elections were not held. In fact, within ten weeks after Geneva, President Eisenhower had already taken decisive steps to divide the country politically and territorially, and to protect this illegal division with military force under cover of international arrangements. On October 1, 1954, he wrote to President Diem pledging assistance for "an independent Vietnam endowed with a strong government." Even before this formal pledge, on September 8, 1954, SEATO was organized with "the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam" designated as an area to be defended against attack.

Thus did Eisenhower deliberately lay the groundwork for violating our Geneva pledge and our treaty with the UN. In his *Mandate for Change*, he suggests his reasons. All reports indicated that "possibly 80 percent of the people would have voted for Ho Chi Minh. . . ." He could not permit such an exercise in self-determination since, materially, "it would have spelled a loss

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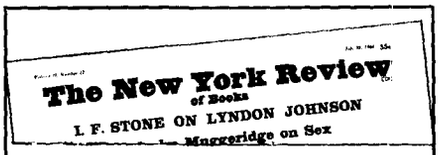

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of valuable deposits of tin and prodigious supplies of rubber and rice," and, politically, it would have threatened our power positions throughout Southeast Asia.

Max Gordon
New York City

The 1954 Geneva accords said that free elections for a unified government were to be held within two years in all of Vietnam "under the supervision of an international commission." THE EDITORS

Some statements at the close of your lively and convincing editorial puzzled me a bit.

It is clear that the Saigon government, abetted by us, violated the 1954 Geneva Accord in at least two ways: 1) By hijacking Saigon and its surroundings and setting it up as the Sovereign State of South Vietnam, though the Accord had designated it as merely separated temporarily and for purposes of immedate convenience; and 2) by blocking the elections by which the country was to have been reunified in 1956.

What I am not clear about, is how Ho Chi Minh violated the Accord. You say, by assisting the Viet Cong to overthrow the Saigon Government by force. But in view of the intended temporary character of the division at the 17th parallel, was Ho, in aiding the Viet Cong – long after we had been aiding Diem – really bringing in arms from an outside country to coerce another nation? Was his action to reunite his country by force, after the failure of the political program for which he had given up territory won in war, properly called aggression? . . .

In order to maintain that Ho violated the Accord, would it have to be shown that the Accord was still in effect? Possibly this could be done, on purely technical grounds. In order not to have violated the Accord, could, or should, Ho have appealed to the Joint Commission? Or what?

Let me add that I find the *NR* exciting. It manages to combine good humor with real liberal punch. TRB is wonderful! His first reason for government aid to the poor (some months ago) "that it is a nice thing to do" struck me as a delightful expression of what a civilized country should be.

Carolyn Fisher
Hollywood, Calif.

After the Arrest

Sirs:

I would like to comment as a peace officer with 14 years experience, eight spent as a detective, on Alexander M. Bickel's article "After The Arrest" (February 12). The right of police to make inquiry after the arrest seems to be secondary to the individual right of the arrestee according to this account. It fails to take into consideration that interrogation is a two way street, that interrogation can prove innocence as well as guilt. The only advice this writer has ever heard a lawyer tell his arrested client is for the client not to make any statement. This completely frustrates the learning of facts which could release the prisoner prior to seeking a complaint.

The right of citizens to be secure in their homes, secure in the sense that they are free of criminal depredations, seems to be of no consideration in this article. Crime commissions and the judiciary can, on the one hand, decry the ever growing crime rate, and on the other, take away the tools which police have to combat it. The police are not asking for the right to use the third degree or the rack and screw, but merely the right to make inquiry of the arrestee, while still observing his constitutional rights.

Harry P. Winegar
Long Beach, California

Mr. Bickel's article presents an argument for extending a cordon of procedural protection around the accused criminal even more extensive than now required by court decisions. The article is depressing because there is no indication that Mr. Bickel is in any way concerned about the long-suffering public which is the victim of ever increasing criminal violence. To be oblivious to the public welfare and to that of the victims of crime seems to be a common failing not only of writers on the subject but also of judges of the state and federal courts.

Mr. Bickel asks the rhetorical questions: "Why should we not welcome all possible methods, short of the outright brutal, of obtaining confessions, and why ought we not in all ways vigorously to pursue a criminal investigation in the period following the arrest? Why

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should we not allow a legally arrested prisoner to be held incommunicado for a period, say, of a day, three days, a week, and questioned?" His answers to these questions are not convincing. After finishing the article, I would be inclined to answer, "Why not, indeed?" Perhaps holding a suspect for a week is unnecessary, but 24 or 36 hours does not seem to be too great an imposition on a suspected criminal in order to give the government a reasonable opportunity to learn the facts about a serious crime.

Perhaps the adversary system under which criminal trials are conducted tends to make the public and even the lawyers and judges forget that in every criminal prosecution the "State" represents the vital interest of the public and of the victims of the crime. These parties have a right to be protected from criminals and to expect that criminals will be promptly and adequately punished. This is the first obligation of the government – one that is being increasingly neglected.

Instead of thinking up rules to make it more nearly impossible to convict a criminal, the lawyers and judges should be thinking up ways to make the job simple and feasible. But they will not budge until public opinion forces them to do it. I should think that *The New Republic* could be of great help in this respect if it were, itself, convinced of the need.

W. H. Middlemas
Charleston, S.C.

In reply . . .

It is, as I tried to point out, sheer speculation and nothing else that can lead Mr. Middlemas to make his connection between extended station-house interrogation and effectiveness in the enforcement of the criminal law. If we knew the relationship to be as direct as Mr. Middlemas assumes it to be, we might conceivably be justified in assigning less weight to the premises of the adversary system, which I endeavored to discuss. But I, for one, would not think so. And one of my reasons would be that I do not share another of Mr. Middlemas' tacit assumptions (which is also Mr. Winegar's), namely, that there is, again, a direct relationship between the rate at which we grind out criminal convictions and protection of "the long suffering public" from "ever-increasing criminal violence." The criminal law has its role to play, but the public would be well-advised to demand more of the police, and more police, in the streets, not in the station-house. In the station-house, it is too late to protect anyone but the prisoner himself. And there is an important public interest in protecting the prisoner from processes that meet violence with violence, evil with evil, inhumanity with inhumanity, only to end up breeding more of the same. I would add, in reply to Mr. Winegar, that there must, in my view, under any circumstances, be some period of station-house interrogation before counsel can be provided. It will be long enough to enable police to extract evidence of innocence.

Alexander M. Bickel

A Case of Defamation

Sirs:

Important confirmation of the central point of my two articles ("A Case of Defamation," February 19 and 26) has just reached me.

In the December 1965, *World Marxist Review*, the organ of the pro-Soviet Communist parties, two leaders of the Dominican Communist Party, J. I. Quello and N. Isa Conde, give their version of the April '65 Dominican revolt. They confirm that the three Communist groups had split prior to the revolt on the question of supporting Bosch's return to power, which the PSP (as the Dominican Communist Party was then called) had opportunistically demanded in its manifesto of last March 16. The Maoist *Movimiento Popular Dominicano* and the Castroite 14th of June Movement, they write, "came out against our position, maintaining that our slogan imparted a personal character to the struggle of the people, allowing the personality of Bosch to overshadow, as it were, the entire democratic movement." Quello and Isa Conde also admit: "But we failed to see that an armed uprising was inevitable. Consequently our party found itself unprepared for the uprising and was unable to head it, although as far as possible it took a firm and resolute part in it." They explain that "our party adopted a sectarian attitude to the armed forces, lumping them all together as a group of 'gorillas' in the service of reaction," and therefore, "our sectarian attitude to the army prevented us from correctly assessing the changes taking place in it and isolated us from the entire process of preparation of the *coup* in the barracks."

Theodore Draper
Stanford, California

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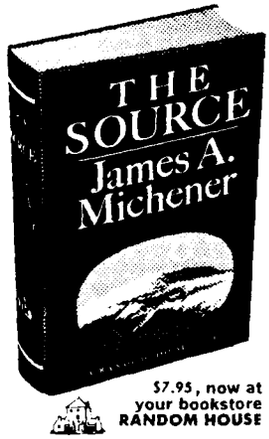

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Sirs:

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Alan Gartner
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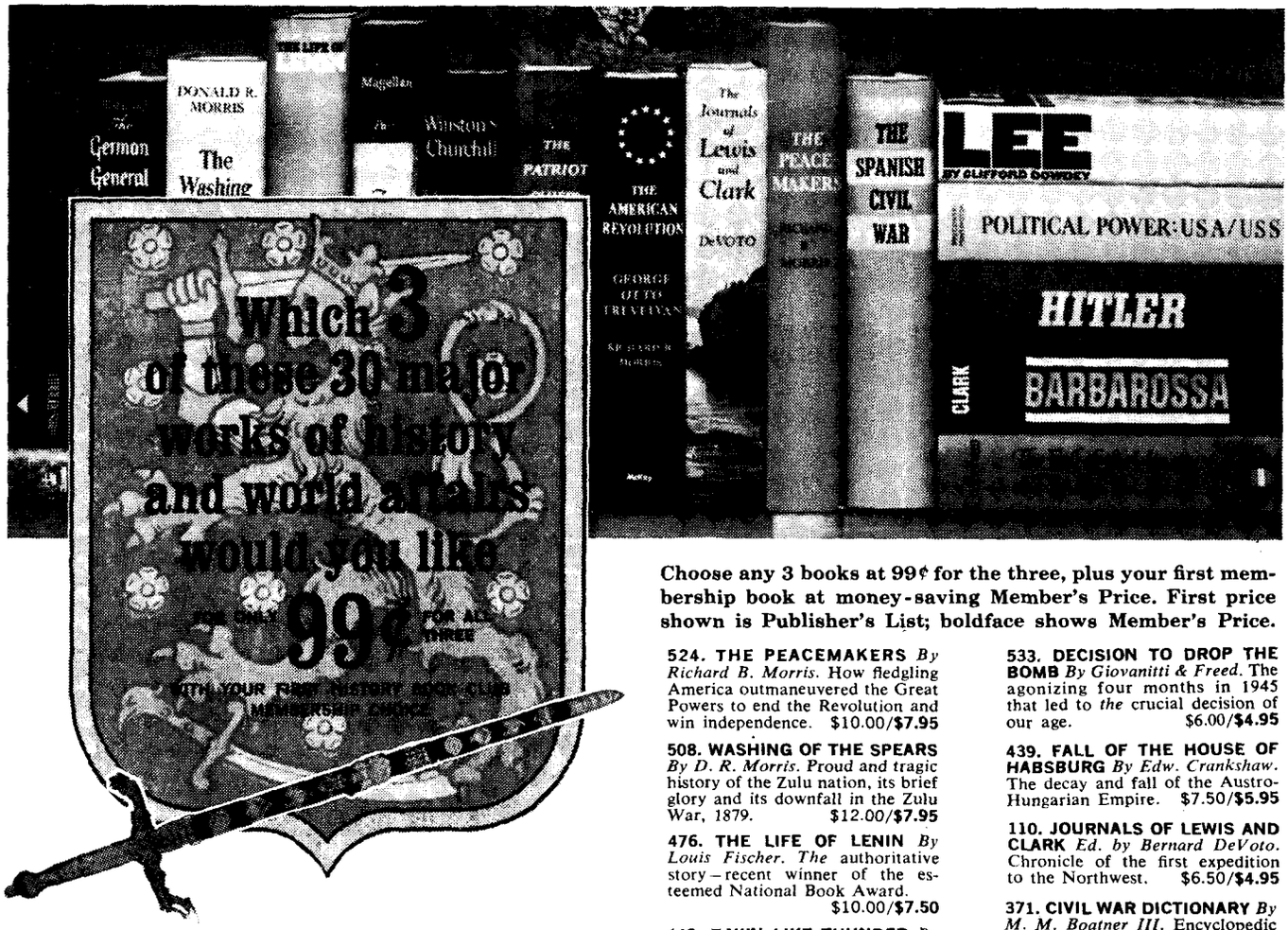

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